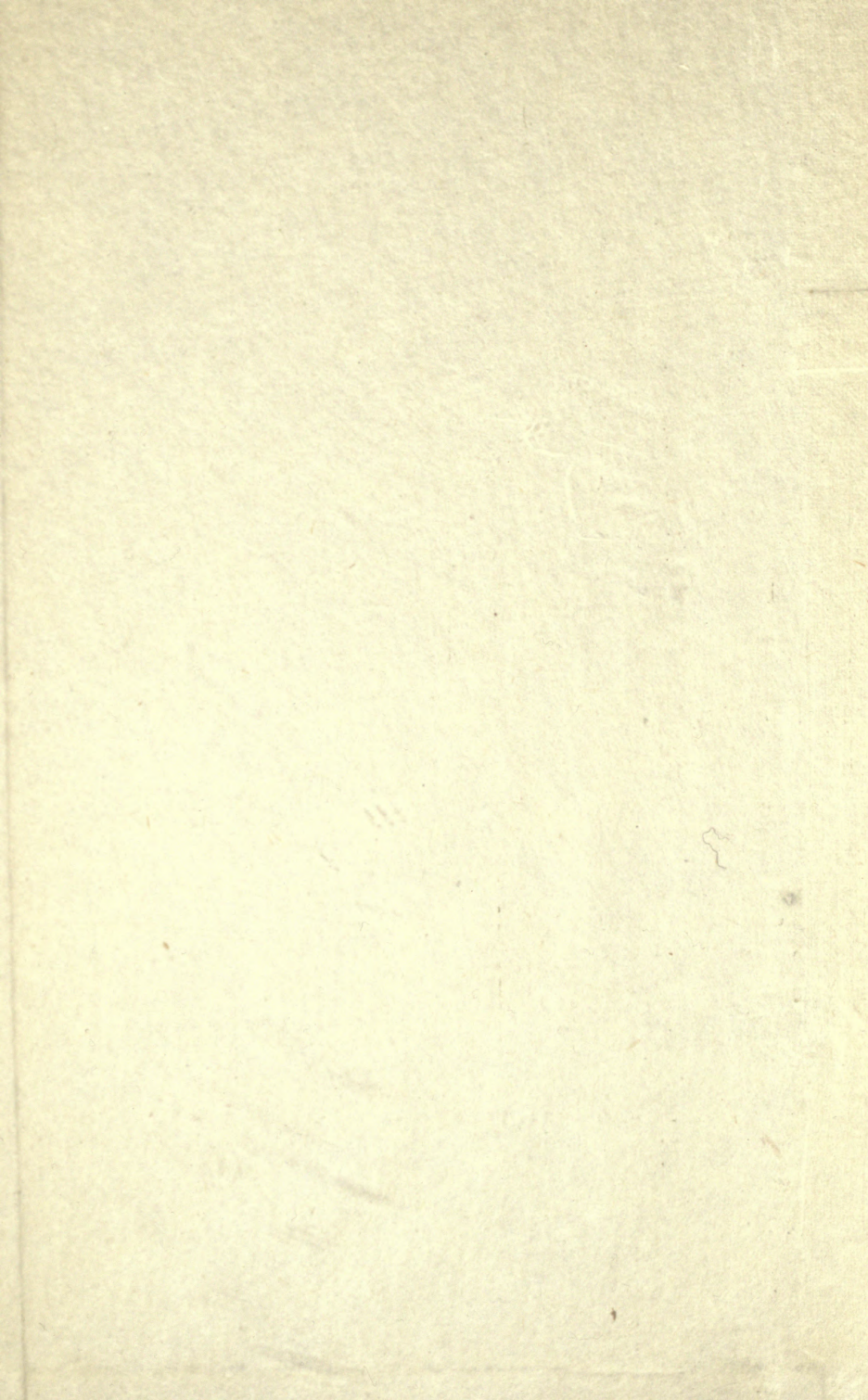


ADDRESSES  
DELIVERED BEFORE  
THE CANADIAN CLUB  
OF MONTREAL



SEASON  
1916-1917





min 0  
9 Monhegan  
2.00











ADDRESSES  
DELIVERED BEFORE  
THE CANADIAN CLUB  
OF MONTREAL



189620.  
27.5.24.

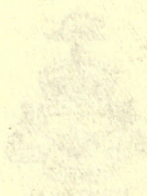
SEASON  
1916-1917

ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE CANADIAN CLUB

OF MONTREAL



F

5497

M6C3

1916/17

APR 1917

PC. 2. 20

SEASON

1916/17



## PREFACE

---

**T**HIS volume, like its two predecessors, reflects the pre-occupations of war. The size and enthusiasm of the meetings has shown more than ever the keenness of the Club in the vital issues presented to it.

Vivid glimpses of the front, and stirring appeals for those at home and abroad from whom the heaviest sacrifices are demanded, were thrown against a background of the persistent problems which are only emphasized in time of war.

Hence, a new seriousness was given to the consideration of some of the problems of national organisation that may be forced into the field of practical politics—the stocktaking of national resources for the healthy development of the whole community of the Dominion—the mobilisation for peace.

The volume ends at a historic turning point. Our visitors from the South have made no secret of their sympathy with our cause. But as we close our session, the entry of the United States into the war marks the accession not only of a material power, but of a moral power which, by virtue of its detachment, its complex nationality, its devotion to peace, stands sponsor to the verdict of posterity.

J. A. DALE.





# CONTENTS

---

	PAGE
PREFACE.....	iii
SECRETARY'S REPORT.....	vii
OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.....	ix
THE WAR AND THE GREAT DOMINIONS. Hon. Sir James Carroll, K.C., M.G. (New Zealand), and Hon. Mr. Flynn (Australia) with the other members of the Aus- tralian Delegation to London.....	i
NATIONAL SERVICE. Colonel Mulloy (Trooper Mulloy of South African fame).....	7
ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT CITIZEN'S PATRIOTIC MEET- ING. Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden and Hon. Rod- olphe Lemieux.....	19
EMPIRE TRADE AFTER THE WAR. Sir George E. Foster (Minister of Trade and Commerce).....	35
WITH THE FOREIGN LEGION. Lieut. Zinovi Peckhoff..	47
OUR CANADIANS AT THE FRONT. N. W. Rowell, K.C. (Leader of the Opposition in the Legislature of Ontario).....	57
BACK FROM FRANCE. Miss Kathleen Burke (Organizing Secretary of the Scottish Women's Hospitals for For- eign Service).....	69
CANADA'S PROBLEMS DURING AND AFTER THE WAR. Hon. Robert Rogers (Minister of Public Works)....	79
KITCHENER'S ARMY. Captain Ian Hay Beith (Author of "The First Hundred Thousand," etc., etc.).....	87
GOVERNMENT VS. PRIVATE MANAGEMENT OF RAIL- WAYS. Samuel O. Dunn (Editor "Railway Age Gazette," Chicago).....	95
THE RE-EDUCATION OF THE DISABLED SOLDIER. T. B. Kidner (Vocational Secretary, Canadian Military Hospitals Commission, Ottawa).....	111
PRISON REFORM. Thomas Mott Osborne (until recently Governor of Sing Sing Prison).....	123
THE NAVY'S NEED IN PERSONNEL. His Excellency the Duke of Devonshire, Governor General of Canada, and Captain the Hon. Rupert Guinness.....	137
CANADA'S PROBLEMS. J. S. Dennis (of the C.P.R.)..	147
SOME FEATURES OF NATIONAL SERVICE. Hon. Chas. A. Magrath (Chairman International Joint Commission, Ottawa).....	157

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
MILITARY PENSIONS. Colonel R. H. Labatt (Board of Pension Commissioners for Canada).....	171
'THE LANDLESS MAN' AND 'THE MANLESS LAND' OF CANADA. A. C. Flumerfelt (Vancouver, B.C.).....	179
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN WESTERN CANADA AND SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS. Hon. George W. Brown (Regina), formerly Lieut.-Governor of Saskatchewan	187
FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE WAR. Sir Byron Edmund Walker, C.V.O. (President Canadian Bank of Commerce).....	209
VICTORY CAMPAIGN. His Excellency the Governor-General, followed by Sir Herbert Ames.....	221
THE POLICY OF BIG AMERICAN CITIES, WITH A FOREWORD ON THE MAGISTRATES' COURTS OF NEW YORK. Hon. Judge Wm. McAdoo (Chief City Magistrate of New York).....	229
THE WATERWAYS TREATY, AND THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION. P. B. Mignault, K.C. (Member of the International Joint Commission).....	239
THE MASTERS OF DESTINY. W. H. Randall (Boston).	247
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MINING INDUSTRY TO CANADA. Arthur A. Cole (President of the Canadian Mining Institute).....	253
THE WESTERN FARMERS' ORGANIZATION AND THEIR VIEW-POINT. H. W. Wood (President of the United Farmers of Alberta).....	263
SYRIA AND ARABIA AS FACTORS IN THE SCHEMES OF GERMANY. Rev. Canon S. Gould, M.D. (Toronto).	271
SERBIA IN WAR—AND AFTER. Dr. Svagor Grgich (Serbian Delegate to Canada and the United States)	279
THE PRESENT SITUATION IN TURKEY AND THE BALKANS AS RELATED TO THIS CONTINENT. James L. Barton, D.D. (Boston).....	283
UNITED STATES AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE WAR. George Haven Putnam (New York), Author of "The Life of Lincoln," etc., etc.).....	291
FINANCING AND ORGANIZATION OF THE BELGIAN RELIEF. Edgar Rickard (Assistant Director of the American Belgian Commission).....	301
THE EUROPEAN WAR AND AMERICAN PARTICIPATION. J. B. W. Gardiner (Military Expert of the "New York Times").....	309



## Twelfth Annual Report of the Canadian Club of Montreal



MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—

I have the honour to present the Twelfth Annual Report of the Club.

The membership of the Club now stands at 1,800, compared with 1,707 a year ago. So far as we have been able to ascertain, there are 165 of our members serving with the overseas' forces.

The Club has held thirty regular meetings, compared with twenty meetings held during the previous season, and the average attendance of members has approximated 400. The number of applications for membership during the season was 367.

In addition to the thirty regular meetings, we had Colonel Mulloy, "The Blind Trooper," and the public meeting held on the McGill Campus on the occasion of the second anniversary of the War. This latter was attended by over 10,000 people, and we were fortunate in obtaining as speakers Sir Robert Borden and the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux.

Recognition should here be given to the Band of the Grenadier Guards, whose services were given for half the usual charge. The Club is also indebted to Mr. C. A. Hodgson, C.A., for his voluntary service in auditing the accounts of the Club.

In view of the increasingly large number of applications for membership, the Hon. Treasurer has recommended that a small initiation fee be charged. The Executive Committee decided to put this suggestion before the members at the Annual Meeting.

I may say that we had every hope of having Mr. Gerard, late United States Ambassador at Berlin, at this meeting, but he telegraphed within the past two weeks that he could not come.

The whole respectfully submitted,

T. KELLY DICKINSON,

*Hon. Secretary.*





# Officers and Executive Committee of the Canadian Club of Montreal



## OFFICERS

<i>President</i>	- - - -	A. E. HOLT
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	- - -	GEO. F. BENSON, L. E. A. CHOLETTE
<i>Hon. Secretary</i>	- - -	T. KELLY DICKINSON
<i>Hon. Treasurer</i>	- - -	C. F. SISE, JR.
<i>Literary Correspondent</i>	-	PROF. J. A. DALE
<i>Asst. Sec.-Treasurer</i>	-	R. H. KENNEDY, 179 St. James Street



## COMMITTEE

W. F. CHIPMAN	H. B. MACKENZIE
DR. C. W. COLBY	R. NEILSON
GEORGE R. HOOPER	REV. HERBERT SYMONDS
D. S. KERR	A. TARUT
ROBT. W. REFORD, <i>Past Pres.</i>	



## PAST PRESIDENTS

1905	- - - - -	A. R. McMASTER
1906	- - - - -	PIERRE BEULLAC
1907	- - - - -	W. H. D. MILLER
1908	- - - - -	E. EDWIN HOWARD
1909	- - - - -	E. FABRE SURVEYER, K.C.
1910	- - - - -	JAS. S. BRIERLEY
1911	- - - - -	GEORGE LYMAN
1912	- - - - -	R. L. H. EWING
1913	- - - - -	A. R. DOBLE
1914	- - - - -	DEAN F. D. ADAMS
1915	- - - - -	ROBT. W. REFORD

# Officers and Executive Committee of the Canadian Club of Montreal

1911

## OFFICERS

President: A. E. Hunt  
Vice-President: C. P. Hunt  
Secretary: J. L. Hunt  
Treasurer: J. L. Hunt  
Auditor: J. L. Hunt  
Committee: J. L. Hunt

1912

## COMMITTEES

Finance: H. A. Macdonald  
Publicity: C. P. Hunt  
Social: J. L. Hunt  
Treasurer: J. L. Hunt  
Auditor: J. L. Hunt  
Committee: J. L. Hunt

1913

## PAST PRESIDENTS

1911	A. E. Hunt
1912	C. P. Hunt
1913	J. L. Hunt
1914	J. L. Hunt
1915	J. L. Hunt
1916	J. L. Hunt
1917	J. L. Hunt
1918	J. L. Hunt
1919	J. L. Hunt
1920	J. L. Hunt



*(Special Meeting, June 19th, 1916)*

## GREETINGS FROM AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

BY

- I. HON. SIR JAMES CARROLL, K.C.M.G.
- II. HON. MR. FLYNN.

---

HON. SIR JAMES CARROLL, K.C.M.G. (New Zealand)

WE are deeply sensible of the great honor and privilege you have accorded to myself and party on this occasion. It is very gratifying to anyone who travels in a new clime, meeting new people, to feel that you are acceptable, not only as a member of a sister Dominion, but as a British subject living under the glorious British flag. We are living in very momentous times. The great crisis is before us—national superiority or extinction. We have to consider the graver question of the maintenance of our Empire—of a structure in which there is a wonderful unity, a spontaneous commingling together of the various fibers, as represented by New Zealand, Australia, Canada, South Africa and other component parts of our great Empire. We are going through a very severe test at the present moment. The metal of the young roots of Empire is being tested to the highest possible pitch, in the terrible furnace through which we are passing at present; and we have every confidence that that metal will come through that ordeal, tempered to the highest possible quality.

It is marvellous how we have congregated together from different parts to the heart of our Empire. There is the seat of government, the seat of Empire, the heart from which flows the best blood to the extreme parts of the national system, returning again to be purified and again to be further tested. Yes, to-day we are witnessing the oneness, the thorough and

complete domestication of Great Britain and all the peoples which compose the Empire. When you realize that the British Empire comprises to-day something like three hundred and fifty million souls, of all races, creeds and colors, and that the dominant section, the white race, represents something like seventy million, when you come to weigh these two together and deeply consider the position, you begin to understand the great problem which is being solved by the masterly genius of those who, with history and tradition behind them, have had to administer the affairs of alien races, of a cosmopolitan Empire, such as the British statesmen have had to do in the past.

We are responding to it to-day. The sense of Empire, the tocsin of war, has not failed to penetrate to the innermost parts of every unit throughout the length and breadth of Empire. All colors and creeds are responding to that feeling to-day. In New Zealand, with the aid of our law passed recently, where authority is taken for the state to enforce compulsory national service, we reckon to have about one hundred thousand soldiers fighting for us if necessary at the front. Australia has done magnificently under her voluntary system: I think the enlistment there amounts to not less than three hundred thousand souls. As we travelled through your Dominion everywhere the martial strains have resounded and reverberated. In each centre we saw camps, soldiers, everywhere khaki is in evidence, so remindful of our own home where everything is in khaki. That interprets a true martial spirit which impregnates the whole of our country to-day, which translates to the central powers of Europe and to neutral nations, as well as those that may be our future enemies, that you cannot menace one part of our national anatomy without the several members being alive and keyed in the same suffering, and determined to secure the same protection therefrom. We are resolved upon this, and I am sure that I am echoing the mutual sentiment we all share, not only in the Dominions Overseas but in the Motherland as well, that we must press on this war until the enemy is brought down on her knees. There can be no intermediate arrangement for peace. We must carry this war on until there is a complete triumph of right over wrong, and to that end New Zealand and other parts



of the Empire are prepared to spend the last ounce of blood and the last shilling.

There are other things, of course, which come within view. We are called to the Old Country on a mission, the idea, so far as we can see, being to bring us all together so that we may exchange ideas upon the different matters which this war has brought into prominence. One cannot definitely set out the exact lines on which our duties may be cast, but I think we can reasonably assume this, that we will have plenty of work before us in deliberating upon affairs of the British Empire. This would involve first the great question of Imperial defense in the future, and what we shall all subscribe to it and in what way. Other important questions will be the straightening out of many irregularities in matters of trade; the re-adjustment of commerce; problems, economic, social and industrial. It will therefore call from us, in combination with yourselves and other parts of the Empire, the clearest judgment, the soundest practical sense and the broadest vision. It is hard to say what will be the result, but we can venture to hope and trust that this war, being as I assume a blessing in disguise, will be the means of recovering our lost senses and to bring into play clear impulses, and clear lines of thought, with which to re-fashion our national fabric. We have to remake our Empire, otherwise our efforts up to the present will have been spent in vain. This war has tested the best of us. We have had a unique opportunity to learn much of things about which we were ignorant before. We have been fighting shoulder to shoulder, in all the issues that we have had to face, and we have come to the conclusion that it is only now that we have a real grip of ourselves and a true understanding of each other. Lying behind the distinctions and differences of custom and so forth we have the same common beliefs and ideals, stronger than all differences, and these to-day are knitting us together in bonds of brotherhood more powerful than any other ties. The sacrifices we have made may serve in a great measure to knit us even closer together, and be palliated by the unity we shall establish. This thought will be behind all the sorrow that comes to us in the loss of our soldier sons.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, for this

opportunity you have given me to express the soul of New Zealand, exactly underneath where you are standing to-day. We have had to climb up a number of stairs to get to your presence, but we have enjoyed the journey; we have been amply rewarded by the exquisite companionship and good-fellowship that we have met with everywhere along the way. We feel to-day that we are still in New Zealand. You are of the same type as ourselves, have the same customs, the same stature physically, the same line of thinking and above all, the same British sentiment of loyalty. We do not feel that we are strangers. We New Zealanders and Australians feel that we are at home in your presence, enjoying your company the same as we would enjoy that of our own people in our own respective homes. Let me say that I trust the day may not be long postponed when you gentlemen, representatives of Canada, will honor our little state New Zealand with a visit. We will make you feel at home and convince you if you require any further proof that Canadians and New Zealanders are all the same.

**HON. MR. FLYNN (Australia)**

We have had, as my friend has said, an almost embarrassing time since first we met your courtesy, in so excellent an exemplar as Colonel Ham, at Victoria. Although I had nothing but moonlight to guide my eyes, I felt then that at last I had come to a country that contained some of the beauty of our United Kingdom. I am an Irishman, but having been away from home for thirty-five years some of the beauties of my country have become memories only, and I was simply embarrassed by the magnificence and beauty of your scenery. We journeyed on Sunday through the Rockies, where the succession of mountain peaks, the rushing and gliding rivers, the deep and bright verdure of many trees, all powerfully light the spirit and soul of aspiring humanity. White ridges, cascades tumbling here and there, the dazzling whiteness of the snow falling from the higher levels to the water's edge, the tremendous mountain peaks rising sheer through their floating skirts of vapor, all made an impressive picture.

But to-day we are dealing with something that stirs our sympathies and patriotism more deeply than scenic beauty.



In Australia our feeling is this: when war is on it is the duty of patriotism and manliness, and in the long run it is best for security, to strike hard, to be determined and at one in regard to a successful issue: while playing the game as nations of honor, to put all our energy into the success of the cause of ourselves and our allies. War is indeed a sad affair. It has its grim and depressing side. But the unsought occasion must be accepted in the spirit in which England has accepted it, when the integrity of a great Empire and the safety of small states is at stake. The Empire throughout which domestic peace is significant and almost always prevails, is now engaged in the greatest war of our times. There never was a moment in our history when the call upon our energies was greater. The grim realities of modern war, of war shorn of its pride and pomp is with us now. The titanic struggle on sea and land in which are engaged half the populations and many of the divers races of the earth, clothed in the sober livery prescribed by modern armaments and conditions, is with us. There is nothing in these khaki days of the splendors of floating plumes, the quality that made war so stirring and ennobling in olden days. The temper that we require in these more sober days is that which is manifested by the soldiers in the cheerful acceptance of the galling conditions of the trenches, and the ceaseless vigilance of our ships in the North Seas, as well as the heroism of the boys when under fire. All this takes the place of the glitter of old days. Tested by the number and power of the nations engaged, the skill and character of the operations, the various energy displayed, the principles and institutions at stake, the material cost, the moral significance, there was never such a war since the world began, and it is not a truism to say that the greatness of the issues and of the struggle, and the fatal possibilities that must be taken into account, should touch the Imperial vision with a force that should prove irresistible and make us impregnable.

It is impossible, gentlemen, for one to give an idea of the extent and scope of an Empire such as ours. You will remember that Jefferson said in 1830 that it is an Empire upon which the sun never sets. India with her millions, Africa, the great self-governing Dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa, fourteen or fifteen colonies, many Protectorates

and spheres of influence, are now in touch and tempered through one feeling of equal freedom, and the desire to maintain and develop the prestige of this great Empire. The secret of British influence and strength is the fact that equal liberty always prevails, and that as the Queen declared in 1842, "There shall be no distinction of religion, of color, of caste." Curran said that we are conserved by that sound policy of universal emancipation. The Empire in its growth has flooded with hope and energy one-fifth of the world. It has been smitten by terrible trials and vicissitudes, and has gradually developed into the great proportions which is represented by the Imperial structure of our time. We may not claim for the Englishman a monopoly of self-respect and control, but we may frankly claim to be masters of ourselves. Pericles said, in his immortal tribute to Athens, that Athens was in all respects an education to Greece; that its citizens, man by man, were second to none in freedom of spirit and complete self-reliance. It is our privilege as citizens of the British Empire to say that ours is the mission to hold and develop the Imperial idea; and that Imperial idea is that although power may serve as a basis for an Imperial structure, when justice, that power which is like God, does not complete and control it, the edifice lacks its true glory. It is because we have set justice above power, consideration above superiority, because we have acquired and conquered—only so that we might by benevolence and freedom and justice develop and control, that our Empire has come to be what it is to-day. It is because of all this that I think we may face the future with quiet confidence, secure that as long as we continue to develop this broad Imperial idea, so long as our ideals remain above mere conquest and are based on justice and benevolence, our Empire will continue to flourish and fulfil the promise of our dreams.



(June 28th, 1916)

## NATIONAL SERVICE

---

By COLONEL MULLOY

---

WE are here to discuss things as they are. The first thing I want to do, and I wish that in speaking to you I could speak to the entire Province of Quebec, is to give to you if possible a picture of Canada as she is seen by the other fellow. You will find up and down this country that our men, hundreds of thousands of them, are unacquainted with certain kindergarten facts known to every peasant in Europe.

In the autumn of 1913, as a Professor in the Royal Military College, I had before me a class of recruit cadets, bright young fellows ranging from seventeen to twenty-one, men picked so to speak from all over this Dominion. I wanted to get a gauge on the thought initiative of each boy, and I asked them a question which they had not been asked before. I also wanted to see how far the doctrine of pacificism was chloroforming the minds of the rising generation. I asked this question, and I know of no better question to put to the Canadian man to let him see Canada as the other man sees it, and to see the Empire as the foreigner sees it. I asked: "By what right do twelve millions of Canadians and Australians occupy one-eighth of the surface of the globe, and some sixteen hundred millions occupy the other seven-eighths?" Or as an alternative question, by what right do eight millions of Canadians hold a territory equal to the great continent of Europe, the cradle of Western civilization for the past twenty centuries, while in that same continent of Europe there are about 350 millions of white people, better organized than these same eight millions of Canadians, for

peace or for war? You say, but surely Canada is not as rich as Europe. She is richer. Gold! I just came down last week from the north country. There is a camp out there called Porcupine, the entire country is richly mineralised. It is an infant camp and yet it is the second gold camp in the world. Silver! Cobalt, the richest silver camp in the world. Nickel! Eighty-five per cent. of the world's known deposit of nickel lies right in the Province of Ontario. Water power! Look at Niagara. Look at the north end of these two Provinces. Millions of horse power unharnessed, going to waste. Within twenty-five miles from Cochrane I was informed by an engineer, 900,000 horse power was going to waste. Fisheries! The best inland fisheries in the world, while to your coast fisheries the world comes to fish. Timber! There is nothing equals us. Pulp! Again there is no land has the pulp we have. Agriculture! Potentially we surpass Europe in agriculture. Who gives you the right to say, this is mine, mine the gates to open and mine the gates to close? The answers were informing. The most unthinking came from a boy who said: "Our right is the right of a superior people." You laugh, but I want to tell you, and I have been recruiting now for over a year, that I have found a responsive chord to that statement in the back of a great many men's minds. We are pets of the Lord Almighty. We do not have to do as the other fellows and we shall come out all right. History does not say so. We have no claim to superiority. Germany with a population of sixty-eight millions in a territory less than British Columbia has led the world in education and science. I am glad to say that the boy who gave that answer is to-day at the front doing his bit, perhaps with a modified outlook. Each answer I held up to the class for criticism and they can be divided into groups. The next group of answers ran something like this: "The right of these eight millions of Canadians is the right of first comers." I held up this answer for criticism, and at once somebody said: "We are not the first comers, sir. The French came before the British and before the French the North American Indian, and so on." You know as well as I do that the history of the world is the history of so-called first comers being displaced by stronger peoples; so we decided that was no good. The



next group of answers ran in this line: "While in Europe there are 350 millions of a better organized people, ours is the right of international consent." Now, I said, that looks good to me, can you criticize it? A bright lad said: "Sir, international consent is all right so long as they consent." Remember this was said in peace times. This was the autumn of 1913. Once you break off diplomatic relations international consent does not do much. It did not save Poland to the Poles. We Canadians are eight millions. As a people we are small folk. Great stretches of unbroken prairie divides our provinces. Mineral deposits although rich do not make a nation, any more than a business office makes a business corporation. A nation is composed of men, women and children, and we are eight million strong, and we should be just as large a nation or State if we all lived in the Province of Nova Scotia. The Poles are thirty-five millions strong. They are not a nation to-day because they forgot how to fight. As a student of history I have no hesitation in saying that one hundred and fifty years ago any man would have been justified in saying that the Poles had a brighter future in front of them than any nation in Europe, barring England. They had a brighter future than France or Austria or Prussia, they were closer to democratic liberty. What happened? The Poles got so close to democratic liberty that they came to the conclusion that it was not necessary to learn how to fight, and a man called Frederick the Great of Prussia, an ancestor of the present Kaiser, said: "Look at the Poles. They have forgotten the essentials of nationality." To Austria: "I will give you so much of the territory, so much to Russia, and I will take so much myself," and so we had the partition of Poland. The Poles were not afraid to fight a bit more than the average Canadian boy who is staying at home to-day and should be at the front is afraid to fight. In many an attempt at revolution, many a bloody riot, the Pole has shown that he is not afraid to fight, but God seldom vouchsafes a nation a second chance. The Empires of the past have fallen because a generation of men have forgotten the essential thing, and according to natural law you and I do not get a second chance. As I said, addressing a crowd of mining men last week, if you sit upon the edge of a mining shaft a hundred feet in depth,

if you forget where you are, if you forget the universal application of the law of gravitation, and loose your hold, you have no second chance, and that is true of the nations. It is in the nature of things. Where is the Empire of the Egyptians, of the Romans, of the Macedonians? They slipped, fell and are gone. Another lad said: "Look at Korea. International consent did not save Korea to the Koreans." To-day Japanese soldiers occupy Korea. Japanese assessors levy the taxes; Japanese teachers are in the schools and Japanese officers teach the boy how to fight—the thing he had forgotten. International consent did not save Alsace Lorraine or New Mexico or Arizona, nor will it save Mexico in this war. The lads and I decided that international consent was not a safe basis on which to base our right to this territory and we have seen since that Belgium with the written bond and guarantee of all of Europe could not save herself. Well, I said, what is your right? You must have some right to this territory. There was one boy in the class, only one, that hit the nail on the head. He said: "Sir, if a challenge comes, our right to Canada is based upon our ability to hold it by fighting against all comers." There is the thing. But you say, is that not saying that might is right? No. But I do say emphatically that right must be supported by force. What is the policeman on the street of Montreal for? To protect my right as a citizen to go in security, and he carries a club at that. Is that, might is right? No. That is force supporting right. We are all prompt in paying our taxes. Why? If it was on a voluntary subscription basis I would not have paid any taxes in the last fifteen years. We pay promptly because behind it we have a picture of the sheriff taking possession of our goods. Would you ask a man in Ontario to come up and serve on jury something like this: "Come up if you can, but if you cannot please write and notify the Clerk." No. We send him an invitation something like this; that he will appear at a certain place, on a certain day and hour to serve on Jury, and we end up: "See that you fail not therein or do so at your peril. God Save the King." There is nothing in that like "please come and enlist." There is the force of the state using its legitimate power. The whole volume of law would be mere waste verbiage if behind it you could not



see the judge and the jury and in the last analysis the army. That is within the state, but when you come into the international sphere you can look at the question from any point you like, study it as profoundly as you may, you are driven to this conclusion, that in the final analysis a people's right to this territory is ultimately grounded in the ability of its men to fight. And that does not mean the protection of crown lands, it goes right down to your business, your chattels, stocks and bonds and your bank account. When I was going to college I had a Belgian friend whose father was worth three or four million dollars, so he would be quite a respectable citizen even in Montreal, and to-day, gentlemen, that man is living on charity. One of Germany's plans for supporting her soldiers after the war is—what? She has parcelled up the whole north of France. Nobody supposes she is going to buy it either. What is your deed to the store on the corner or the block of buildings? A piece of paper. What is behind it? All law, our judge and jury system, our sheriff with his power of seizure, our army. What is your bank account? It is a book with some figures written in it. What is behind it? Our law, our judge and jury, our constitution and our army. This is true of all your material possessions. A man said to me: "I want my son to take care of my business, to stay here and grow with it." I said: "My dear sir, you will have no business if we do not win this war." Another said: "I want my boy to go on with his education." I said: "What is education to a slave?" But not only your material possessions are at stake in this war, but those immaterial but invaluable things known as our rights and our liberty are at stake. What is the Quebec Act, the British North America Act, the Act of Confederation? Pieces of paper. What are they based upon? Upon our ability to keep ourselves free.

Now then, I have gone thus far to bring home to you, to show you if I can how this country appears in the eyes of the outsider. Some people say: "This is England's war." I want to tell you that Germany has not been sharpening her sword for nothing. It is not Wales she wants, it is New Zealand; it is not Scotland she wants, it is Australia; it is not England she wants it is Canada. We are to-day the most tempting prize that the world offers to a land hungry people.

The next point I would make is this. We are at war with a nation sworn to break this Empire, and our allies know that the ultimate prize of Germany's ambition is the British Empire. It is not our allies she is after it is the British Empire. She hoped that we would be foolish enough to stand aside until she had crushed France, but we did not. We are in this war, and fighting we must win, or as a free people we must die. You will agree that we should raise as large and as efficient an army as is compatible with our economic life. Well, we started out on the so-called voluntary system. It is not a system. It is the precise antithesis of a system. The man in the street will tell you that the voluntary system is peculiarly adapted to the spirit of our free institutions. If he means that we do everything voluntarily, why do we not pay our taxes voluntarily? Then I want to say that this system is not British any more than it is French. There never was a voluntary unit in the British army until the middle of the Eighteenth Century. It was born as a result of Governmental weakness or unpreparedness and a fear of invasion. It did not replace the British system, which is a compulsory system. Barring guerilla warfare and border fighting, etc., Great Britain has gone through but one war in her history without using the compulsory military lever. During the Napoleonic struggle, the men who built up the British navy went to sea under compulsion. In the Crimea War this compulsory lever was suspended, but it remained to be put into force at an hour's notice. The system was that each county, each parish must contribute its quota of men, no more and no less. This 'voluntary system' is not British.

The next point I want to make against it is that it is not reliable. In the history of all nations, the voluntary system has never stood the test of a real war. I challenge any student of history to say otherwise. It has broken down at every turn in anything that required approximately half of the people's effort. It is haphazard in its method, uncertain in its results and incapable of supplying a steady and uniform stream of recruits, necessary to raise and equip an army. It contradicts the fundamental relationship between citizen and state. We have had, beginning with the first pale light of ancient civilization, a great many kinds of so-called state



government. Whether in the inception of the state—the family in its enlarged form, the tribe, or the nation—every citizen's right is paralleled by responsibility based upon obligation. Go back as far as you like to biblical history and come down to modern times. Every state has one common foundation, one common obligation on which all rights of citizenship are founded. A great many of our Canadian boys do not know this. In time of war the eligible male citizen must fight. Suppose he does not agree as to what the war is about. It does not make a bit of difference. If he has conscientious objections to fighting it does not make a bit of difference. In time of war the eligible male citizen must fight. That is true to-day and it would be true to-morrow if you had a Socialistic state. It would have to be based on that, otherwise the stronger race walks in and makes the people slaves, like the Poles. Where the constitution is written this point is incorporated. Where it is not written it is the underlying principle and is so understood. Mr. McKenna announced the other day thirty-four men sentenced to death because they had conscientious objections to fighting, the sentence commuted by a just and humane government to penal servitude for life. In time of war the eligible male citizen must fight.

The basis of the voluntary system is the right to refuse, is it not? If I go to any gentleman here and say, 'will you give \$5.00 for a certain purpose?' he is in a position to say, 'no, I will not subscribe.' The very fact that the offering is voluntary means that he can refuse. When the Government calls for volunteers what is it doing? It is giving a legal justification for any man who says, 'it is none of my business.' When the Government calls for volunteers to fight it gives a legal justification, it says in plain words, you can volunteer. It means, you can refuse to volunteer. You, John Jones, you can say, this is my war, or it is none of my business. Therefore we claim, we men of the National Service League, that this whole business lacks sincerity. What good is it for all our press, our editors and political parties to proclaim to an outside world that we are in this struggle to the last ditch and the last dollar and to the last boot strap of the last honorary colonel, when the world knows and we know and every

editor knows that if we are in earnest, the first sign of a sincere attempt to conduct a war is to classify our industries and register our men and take stock of our resources and know where we are going?

The next point I want to make against the voluntary method is that it is not democratic. The first principle of democracy is the equality of all citizens in the view of the state. The customs duty is not thirty-five per cent. to this man and fifteen to the other. It is the same. All duties imposed by the state must be evenly distributed over the whole citizen body. Now if that is a true democratic principle in the realm of dollars and cents surely it is truer democracy when the toll to be exacted is suffering, loss and death. Another principle of democracy is that you must not discriminate against any person or persons. If you can prove to the Minister of Finance that a certain tariff discriminates against a certain section of the people you have set up a good basis for having it rescinded. But look at this voluntary method. It discriminates flagrantly, and discriminates in favor of whom? The selfish man, the unpatriotic fellow, the lover of his own ease. And against whom does it discriminate? The unselfish man, the patriotic fellow, the man who says, "my race and my people need men, and by Jove, that means me." It is undemocratic, it is not British, it is not reliable.

Another point against it is that it is riotously wasteful and extravagant. It takes from three to over seven months to raise a battalion. The greatest number of recruits come in in the first month or two. Against a system which would raise the men in two weeks, we have a loss of four to five months' time in connection with each battalion. In money you can practically say you are losing—since every establishment of officers and non coms are on pay from the first few weeks—you are losing pay for a matter of three to four months. What does that mean? What does it cost to keep up a battalion? \$75,000 a month. We are losing one-quarter of a million dollars for every battalion. We have raised 240 battalions. We are paying out sixty millions of dollars for the privilege of being six months late with each battalion. Take another point—the matter of married men. In Ontario the percentage runs from 35 up to as high as 75. The low aver-



age is 425 married men per battalion. Under any sane system ninety per cent. of this would be avoided. You have \$100,000 a year per battalion, in other words, \$25 to \$30 million dollars a year in separation allowances which we are paying out. That is not saying anything of the final obligation we as a state undertake, stretching forward over a period of years, to raise these men's children in case anything happens to them.

We are carrying out in various parts of Canada campaigns for recruiting. Speakers and escorts must be transported. Halls must be hired and paid for, advertising, bunting, bills must be used in abundance. There is the item of speakers' hotel expenses, and so on, and the people pay it. I say this system is riotously extravagant.

A serious point, and the next which I want to bring against it is that it is a deranger of industry. If you are an employer and you say: "I want you to come and talk to my men, but there are nine men I do not want you to take, and there are twenty-seven men that you can have. Women can fill their places, or any unskilled labor." I go down and make an appeal for men, and the chances are that I will get seven men out of the nine and two out of the twenty-seven. Why is that? Under any sane system we should not allow those men to go. The reason is this, that your captain of industry, your skilled mechanic, is a man with a disciplined mind. He knows what concentration of purpose means, he knows what night study means, and the appeal comes home much more to the man with a disciplined mind, while it falls lightly off the man with an undisciplined mind. And yet that is precisely what we have to offer, what we could give those unskilled men. It would teach them those very things. What is the result of this voluntary method? I speak as an Ontario man and I can tell you we have stripped our industries of their technical staff. I was talking to the Manager of the Hollinger Mine the other day and he said: "You have taken practically my entire technical staff and not touched my unskilled staff at all." This method is a deranger of industry and that is why the people of Ontario feel—and the men of the Canadian National Service League feel—that we must have some system whereby to stop this indus-

trial bleeding. We have raised three hundred thousand men. In war the basis on which a nation raises and fights an army is the industrial capacity and the economic resources of the people at home. The wealth producing capacity of the ninety per cent. who cannot go to war is the real basis of the army. This wealth producing capacity must be guarded. If this fails the army must die. I tell you, sirs, we are bleeding industrially to-day from the three hundred thousand men we have raised in this haphazard fashion, more than if we had raised six hundred thousand in some sane manner; and I believe in registration, not to drag-net the country to go to the front, but to stop this system which we are using at present, to change an undisciplined public opinion which makes it impossible for the captain of industry to walk down the street and hold his head up. We are driving plant managers to enlist in the ranks. How? By the force of uninformed and undisciplined public opinion. If you had registration you would give these men some badge by which they could retain their respect. I leave that point there.

Just one more point and I am through. When you go to the politician, he says, what about Quebec? The politician of course has constituencies to lose or gain. We who have neither to lose or gain, we think of Canada first. If my words could carry past the Canadian Club, past the French Canadian politician, past the press, and if you like the higher clergy, if I could reach Mons. le Curé and my friend Jean Baptiste, I would like to say something to him. I would like to express if possible the opinion of the moderate men of English-speaking Canada, and to say: "We are aware that you and we have not been losing sleep praying for each other, especially lately, but we recognize that we are indissolubly linked together, that you and we must work out our destiny together, that you have your place here and we have ours. We had in the first few months of the war, we moderate men of English-speaking Canada, we had one hope of consolidation. We thought, now is the time when the two parts of Canada will really learn to know each other. Now, when France is pouring out her blood in rivers to uphold French civilization and French ideals, now is the time, this is the golden opportunity for those splendid fellows, our French



Canadian compatriots, the golden opportunity of their history. But, Mons. le Curé and Jean Baptiste, we feel that you have not taken advantage of your opportunity. You have found a grievance, alleged, real or fancied, which to us is secondary; for this reason, that all your rights, religious and linguistic and racial, on whatever act they rest, are mere scraps of paper unless we can keep ourselves free. Therefore grievances are secondary. We feel in other words that you are like the wife who when a fire started in the basement detained her husband to make him apologize for some offence he did not know he had committed, or to make restitution of rights which he did not know he had deprived her of. Our thoughts, we men of English-speaking Canada, our attention is very much centered on the war. We are fighting to keep you free too. Can you not forget this trouble? Never mind this bi-lingual question. We cannot settle it at present. You are taking the responsibility of writing history for yourselves. Can you not meet us and give us the aid of your valorous arm of your fire and enthusiasm and patriotism? On behalf of the men, the thousands of French Canadians who in Ontario enlisted just as well as the English-speaking people, on behalf of the thousands of men from French Canada who enlisted in the first, second and third contingents, the men who are to-day, with steady eyes, walking into the maelstrom of death, the men whose last picture, amid fire which is gradually taking their lives, is the picture of French Canada, the men who say they are representing their country, I ask you, can you not forget this difference? Can you not leave it to be settled in the future? If you study our history, we are not a race who stands for injustice. This thing will right itself. Let us join in our first business, which is to defeat the enemy."





*(Friday evening, August 4th, 1916)*

# ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE CITIZENS' PATRIOTIC MEETING

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE  
MONTREAL CANADIAN CLUB

ON MCGILL CAMPUS, FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 4th, 1917

BY

- I. THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT L. BORDEN.
- II. THE HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX.

---

MR. A. E. HOLT, Chairman :

**L**ADIES and Gentlemen: Before we begin the proceedings of to-night, I wish to read two cables which have been handed to me this moment. The first is from Sir Douglas Haig and reads as follows:

"Army of the Empire on the Offensive.

"Chairman, Patriotic Meeting, Montreal.

"Second anniversary war finds British army, which now comprises units of all parts Empire, acting on offensive. Great army workmen, women home and overseas, contributed very greatly result through continued hard work. Decision take no general holidays until objective obtained will certainly affect war issue in coming year of struggle. Two years' desperate warfare in trenches have still further increased feelings comradeship which bind us to Allies and made us still more inflexible in determination carry through victory this war, which none our choosing. We look forward confidence success and triumphant peace.

"DOUGLAS HAIG."

The second is from Admiral Jellicoe:

"Chairman, Patriotic Meeting, Montreal.

"Second anniversary of commencement of war finds

British Empire full confidence in final result. This confidence due fact that cause which we fighting just. Also knowledge we possess fighting qualities displayed by forces of Mother Country and Empire beyond seas equal those of gallant Allies.

"JELlicoe."

When the war broke out two years ago and the British Empire ranged itself in conflict against the mightiest military machine known to history, we know that our leaders were inspired by no unthinking or unworthy motives. They were not led astray by desire for extension of dominions and power, but the Empire went into this war reluctantly, in the fear of God, and in fulfilment of its high destiny as the protector of small nations, in defense of the sanctity of treaties and as the champion of the rights of the individual to liberty and self-government. And now, when we look back after two years of bitter sacrifice and struggle and think what has been done by our men who have gone to the war—and when I say our men I do not mean merely the Canadians but all our fellow-citizens of the British Empire from Australia, Newfoundland, South Africa and the islands of the sea—we are not ashamed. They have fought the good fight, kept the faith. And we are not ashamed of what has been done by the men who have organized and directed them, and the people who have aided them in so many ways; for we must not forget the women of the Empire who chiefly bear the bitter burden of bereavement, and who have so nobly responded to the calls made upon them. To-night, all over the Empire, meetings such as this are being held to consider the resolution which has been framed by the Central Committee for Patriotic Organization, of which Mr. Asquith is the President, and the Vice-Presidents are Lord Rosebery and Mr. Balfour. These political opponents have sunk their differences and are united in the common cause, and on this platform to-night we have a similar example of this, for the resolution in question will be moved by the Right Hon. Sir Robt. Borden and seconded by the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux. The joint appearance of these two gentlemen, in joint support of that resolution, is typical of the unity which all loyal Canadians feel now towards our present great aim and purpose, the defeat of the enemy and the maintenance of the British Empire.



**RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT L. BORDEN**

It is indeed a privilege and an honor to have the opportunity of standing in the commercial metropolis of Canada to-night and to move a resolution similar in terms to that which will be moved in a thousand cities and towns of the Empire on this day. For as the shades of evening gather and circle around the earth, in all the cities and towns of our vast Empire which itself encircles the earth, men and women will gather together to consecrate their energies once more to the task of winning that victory for liberty and justice to which our Empire has devoted its efforts during the past two years, to the cause which we are assured will in the not distant future be triumphant. It is a privilege also to know that the resolution will be seconded by one of the most eloquent orators of his eloquent race, the Honorable Rodolphe Lemieux, whose voice has on many occasions been heard since the commencement of this war, in vindication of the purpose for which the war is being carried on, and in aid of the cause which we all have at heart. Before proceeding further, it is right that I should submit to you, in the first instance, the words of the resolution which I have the honor to propose, and which Mr. Lemieux will second. It reads like this:

“THAT on this, the second anniversary of the declaration of a righteous war, this meeting of the citizens of Montreal records its inflexible determination to continue to a victorious end the struggle in maintenance of those ideals of liberty and justice which are the common and sacred cause of the Allies.”

A year ago to-night, on the first anniversary of the declaration of war, I had the privilege of standing by the side of Mr. Balfour in London and of speaking there in support of a similar resolution. Since then many things indeed have happened. At that time the outlook was not encouraging. The Russian advance had been stayed by sheer weight of numbers and immense superiority in arms and armaments. The Russian forces had been forced back from Austrian territory, forced back indeed far beyond the borders of their own territories. To-day the conditions are vastly different, for much has happened since. The initiative has passed—and I trust that it has passed once for all—to the allied armies. It has been proved by the plainest demonstration that the

enemy's line can be pierced and so far as we laymen can understand, the chief consideration for the great military commanders both in the western and eastern theatres of war, is to determine how this work can be accomplished with the smallest sacrifice. We are assured to-day of that unity of direction and control which is absolutely necessary, and especially necessary when allied nations are facing a common enemy. I believe that we have that to-day. The events of the past few weeks have shown what can be accomplished by the allied nations with proper preparation and with unity of direction and of purpose. I made it my business when I was in Great Britain a year ago to endeavor to find out what was the preparation necessary, and how it was being made. Returning to Canada a little less than a year ago I expressed my conviction, gave out the information at my command to those who were entitled to receive it. What I said to them then was this: I do not believe that Great Britain or the allied nations will have completed the preparation which will enable them to throw all their strength into this struggle, before June, 1916. And I venture to think that the events of the past four or five weeks show that the impression which I then formed was not far wrong. This war is a war not of men alone, but of all mechanical aids. To send men, even of the highest valor, into this war without all these mechanical aids, without employing all the resources of science, is merely to send them to defeat and destruction. Therefore the question was, to what extent had the allied nations made their preparation, because you know it is a question not of men alone, not of the training and organization of men alone, not of the valor of the men or of military leadership; but of guns, armaments, ammunition, rifles, aircraft, motors, all the varied organization and equipment which is found necessary in warfare as carried on at the present date. The first year of this war was a year of holding our own and of making the preparation that was necessary. The second year of this war was the year of making that preparation as complete as possible, and the third year of this war will be the year in which the allies will fight in earnest and fight to such good purpose that I for one do not doubt that the victory of the cause which we have at heart is absolutely assured, and that



in the not far distant future. Do not misunderstand me, ladies and gentlemen. The German military strength in the first instance was beyond all expectations and all estimate, and it is largely unbroken to-day, but I think we have taken their measure. We can put greater forces in the field than they can. Materially we have all the equipment, arms and ammunition, the valor of our men, as good leadership as theirs; therefore there need be in no man's heart to-night the slightest doubt as to the outcome, and if you want confidence and optimism as to the result of this war I tell you where you should go. Go to the men at the front, to the wounded and convalescent in the hospitals and you will find there not the remotest shadow of doubt as to the outcome. We may have under-estimated the German strength in the first instance, but what shall be said of them? The German writer you have heard so much of since the beginning of this war, General Bernhardi, said that so far as the British Empire was concerned, it might be divided into two portions—the United Kingdom and the Overseas Dominions. As far as the Overseas Dominions were concerned, they possessed some elements of a militia, but so far as a war in a European theatre was concerned, they were negligible factors. I predicted in December, 1914, that the Overseas Dominions of the Empire would have 250,000 men in the fighting line. Canada alone has over 300,000 men under arms, and it is more than probable that if you estimate all the armed forces of the Overseas Dominions, Germany fights to-day, confronts to-day from this same negligible Overseas Dominions at least six or seven hundred thousand men of the finest fighting forces that her armies ever went up against. We have sent in Canada more than 200,000 men overseas. We have 137,000 men under arms in Canada, but ladies and gentlemen, Canada has done much more than that. I do not pause here to speak of the labor of the men in the fields, the husbandmen, whose labors have been blessed by a bounteous harvest during the past year. I want you to remember to-night that as I have said this is not a war of men alone, but of mechanical aids that science can bring, and the facilities which Canada possessed for the production of armaments and ammunition have proven, through the resourcefulness and adaptability of her

people, a most wonderfully valuable asset for this Empire and all the allied nations. We have enlisted 350,000 Canadians to fight overseas for a righteous cause. We have nearly 200,000 men in Canada turning out the munitions with which the allied forces are supplied at the front. We have undertaken in Canada the production of those munitions to the amount of over \$500,000,000 and we have already sent overseas munitions to the extent of nearly half that amount. They are being turned out in Canada to-day at the rate of \$1,000,000 per day; so that besides our men at the front, we in this country have been enabled to bring this great aid to the allied cause, and to place our armies at the front and the armies of our allied nations on that condition of equality in equipment which was absolutely necessary if we were to secure victory.

I do not pause here to say very much as to the justice of our cause. The judgment of mankind was formed very shortly after the war began and a hundred incidents that have since transpired have only served to strengthen the judgment of the world. It was said of old that the stars in their courses fought against Sisera; so I say that the German autocracy and militarism have fought against their own country in their methods of warfare. The atrocities in Belgium, the sinking of the Lusitania and the Sussex, the slaying of Edith Cavell—all these have contributed powerfully to opinion which has confronted the German authorities in the forum of the world, and have served to strengthen the judgment of mankind in upholding the justice of the cause for which the allies fight. The spirit of our people in this war has been splendid. Now and then perhaps we may yet find a voice in this country, the voice of one who asks why Canada should take part in this war, and claims that we should have stood aside and seen the rest of our Empire fight the battle of liberty and justice while we remained idle and unconcerned. If Canada is to have her part in the common civilization of the world, if Canada is to share in the higher conception of humanity, if Canada sets any store on the greatness of her destiny as part of the British Empire, Canada may not stand aside in this war. I know what the spirit of the Canadian people is. It is wonderful and magnificent. I have been told of men in factories and workshops who have thrown down their



tools suddenly, at a moment's notice at a call which they recognized as higher than any earthly consideration. They have hastened to the recruiting office to take their part in the fighting line. If any man hesitates to make a decision in this country he should read the evidence on which Lord Bryce's report is based. I do not think any man could hesitate who had an adequate conception of this evidence. If the men of Canada read that evidence—I pray the women may never read it—I say no man could ever hesitate long as to what his duty is under these conditions and in this war.

Distance disappears before man's growing control over the forces of nature. The ocean, formerly a complete barrier, has become a highway. Men have found the pathway of the air, so that no country can hold itself aloof and apart from the great nations of the earth and the powers at their command. So in this war Canada's front fighting line is in the North Sea and on the plains of France and Belgium, and in any like war it may be quickly estimated what would be the effect on this country. What would have been the fate of this country if Germany had achieved the same superiority on the ocean that she had attained upon the land? Would there be any limit then to her world wide conquest? I can conceive of none. It was a great thing for the allied nations, a great thing for Britain, for the whole Empire, and last but not least it was a great thing for Canada, for the city of Montreal, for every man and woman that I see before me, that Britain in this war did retain the superiority of the seas. Only once did Germany test the superiority of the British Navy. Sir David Beatty followed the traditions of the British navy when he undertook to approach at the challenge of a superior force. The first of the traditions of the British navy is to stand up and fight no matter how superior the enemy may be. The British won their victory in the Battle of Jutland, but what would not Jellicoe and Beatty have given for that single hour's additional daylight which would have made their victory complete. The responsibility of maintaining forces of which we never dreamed at the outbreak of this war placed a great burden on the people of Canada, and that burden, I am happy to say, has been accepted gladly and willingly. The responsibility of those who are

called upon to direct these matters in Canada has been perhaps more severe than anyone can estimate who has not participated in them. We acknowledge with grateful hearts the splendid sympathy, the strong support, the co-operation of the Canadian people in all that we have done. We are especially grateful to the men who in recruiting throughout the land have spared neither their time nor energies nor resources, in an endeavor to impress on the young men of this country the duty which is common to us all. And of the various activities which have made themselves manifest in this country I may be permitted to allude to one or two. The Military Hospitals Commission, an official organization, has done splendid work in providing comforts and necessities for convalescent soldiers, providing instruction in vocations where that is necessary for men who have returned wounded from the front, and in finding employment for returned soldiers. May I be permitted also to express my very deep appreciation of the work of many patriotic societies, especially of the Canadian Patriotic Fund and the Red Cross Society; and who would consider any meeting complete in this country without an allusion to the womanhood of Canada who have endured so much and who have been so active and earnest in their errands of mercy? The memory of this work will remain enshrined in the heart of the Canadian people so long as this Canada of ours remains a nation.

There are some things that we have to consider to-day outside of the war itself. One of those is the question as to what will happen when peace comes. We were thrust into this war two years ago without any warning. We may enter into peace almost as suddenly during the next twelve months, although no man can predict that with any certainty. There will be great problems before us then. There will be the question as to the occupation and employment of hundreds of thousands of Canadians returned from the front. There will be the question of the great immigration from overseas, new conditions to meet, new problems to solve. There will be the question of production and of markets at home and abroad. To all these matters the Government has not been slow to give consideration. It would not be appropriate that I should dwell upon this to-night, but I do feel that the



Government is entitled to the co-operation and aid of the whole people, because these are matters in which the whole people are vitally interested.

Perhaps in the early months of the war it may be said some of the industries of Canada were too prone to lean for aid upon the Government alone. You will remember in the ancient fable, that when the carter called upon Hercules to pull his load out of the mud, the divinity appeared and said: "Put your own shoulder to the wheel first." Let us all put our shoulders to the wheel. I hope that the great and varied business interests of Canada will not be slow to co-operate in that business conference which Sir George Foster has called, and which will be held in this country after his return.

What has been the effect of this war upon our national spirit? Have you ever considered that our men, two, three, four hundred thousand of them, will come back from the front after having participated in the most wonderful series of events that human history has ever recorded? How immeasurably broadened their outlook will be after having participated in this event with men owing allegiance to the British flag from every corner of this wide earth. Do you realize that that must produce a great effect upon the national spirit of Canada? Do you realize also that these men will come back to Canada after having written their splendid record in letters of fire upon the history of the world in this war? Because no men from the East, or North or South who have fought in the allied cause in this war have made for themselves a greater or a more distinguished record, than the men who have gone overseas from the soil of Canada; and it is not amiss, in this old, historic Province of Quebec, to speak of the soldiers of French origin who have gone to the front and who have shown on many a field and in many a battle that they have not forgotten the spirit of Dollard or Madeleine Verchères. A distinguished Frenchman here in Canada only a year ago has told a most picturesque story of the marching of a French Canadian regiment through a French village. These men were singing an old French marching song which had perhaps been handed down to them from their soldier ancestors of two hundred years ago, who fought in some renowned battles in the old French régime in Canada. So

they went through this village singing this old chanson and the villagers came out and gazed with astonishment on them. Were not these men British soldiers? They were clad in khaki, they had the British belt, the men carried their guns on the left shoulder as is the custom of our British troops, and yet they were singing an old French chanson. So the Colonel of the regiment halted his men and explanations were made. Perhaps the French villagers did not actually comprehend all the history that has been written since the days of Louis XIV, but they did realize that these men were of their own blood, of their own spirit, that they came from an unknown country overseas and were fighting to defend the sacred soil of France. And when those men went overseas, how did they find the spirit and soul of France? Did they find it decadent? No. They found France confident and determined, inspired by as splendid and unconquerable a spirit as humanity has ever displayed.

And so we come to the third year of this great war, the greatest war ever recorded in history. We come to it with a clearer appreciation than ever of the horror of war. We come to it inspired by a most intense sorrow and sympathy for all the homes which it has saddened, and we also feel that perhaps not the least of the tragedies of this war is the very fact that so few men could have forced all this misery and sorrow and death and destruction upon the world. The hour struck because the German autocracy was ready. The assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand bore only a casual relation to the war. It had been pre-determined from the first—the war which was expected to bring prestige and territory and wealth and fame to some men at least, but a war which will bring to them only sorrow, defeat, disgrace, the eternal ignominy of the memory of mankind in all the ages to come. We enter the third year of this war with the supreme confidence that the cause for which we contend, the righteous cause for which we contend, will in the end prevail, and with the inflexible determination that no efforts of ours shall be spared for that purpose. Through all this welter of sorrow and death we have not lost faith that human events march to the assured fulfilment of the eternal purpose. Finally, we consecrate ourselves anew on this, the



second anniversary of the war, to the task before us; and we pledge ourselves to that cause for which Canada's sons have suffered and fought and gloriously died, and in defense of which they have made undying fame, that cause which in the not distant future is destined to be crowned with the laurel of victory.

**HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX**

I rise to second, with all my heart, the resolution which has just been so eloquently moved by the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister of Canada, but in rising I must express regret that my leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who had been kindly invited by the members of the Canadian Club, is not with us this evening. As an old student from McGill University I am quite sure that the inspiring sight of this campus now made famous by the tramping of our boys, would have brought to his memory many happy recollections, and I am also quite sure that with his usual eloquence he would have filled the bill, if I may use the expression, much better than my humble self this evening. Be that as it may, ladies and gentlemen, my remarks will be brief. To Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister of Canada, on behalf of my fellow-countrymen of French origin in the city of Montreal, I extend the warmest welcome. He and Lady Borden are welcome not only in Montreal but in the Province of Quebec, the oldest of the four original Provinces which sealed the pact of union fifty years ago in a few months. Sir Robert and myself are old personal friends, I am proud to say. He and I were elected twenty years ago to the House of Commons, with this difference, that he sat then on the left of the Speaker and I sat on the right. Let me say this to him, that although I have differed from him politically, personally I consider him a great Canadian statesman, a worthy successor of that lineage of statesmen, such as Joseph Howe, Sir Charles Tupper, Fielding, and all the other great men who came from the province by the sea. I have differed with him politically, I said. May I relate here a little anecdote that I was reading only last night? A fair lady—they are very inquisitive at times—was asking that veteran cynical diplomat and statesman, Talleyrand, what the old gentleman thought of her.

Looking at her with a smile he said: "Madam, you are unbearable, but it is your only failing." I will not apply that anecdote to my friend, Sir Robert Borden. But to be serious, in the narrow sense according to our party ethics, according to our party system, the Prime Minister is but the exponent of the ideas, the principles and the thoughts of his political associates; but under the British Parliamentary system—and I am proud to live under British institutions—there are many occasions when the Prime Minister is the proud spokesman of the whole people, be they Whigs or Tories, French or English. Well might it be said that never have events shaped themselves to make the Prime Minister of Canada more the proud spokesman of all his fellowmen, irrespective of race, creed or nationality, than he is this evening.

Two years ago Canada, united as she never was before, decided spontaneously and unanimously, I am proud to say, through her representatives in Parliament, that in this war we would stand by the mother country. We were fully conscious in the mighty struggle which had startled the nations of the earth, that as between freedom and slavery, that as between democracy and militarism, that as between the superman and the plain common people, we had but one path to follow and that was the path of duty and honor; and our safest guide was old England, the mother of freedom, old England so aptly described by Tennyson as the land "where girt by friends or foes, a man may speak the thing he will." Two years have elapsed and Canada, this fair Dominion, has given abundantly, has given with a lavish hand her men and her resources in order to maintain freedom, justice and the highest ideals and standards of free government. The Prime Minister of Canada made no uncertain appeal during the short session which followed the declaration of war, and with unfaltering steps the union of Canada flowed around the colors, the miners from the Yukon, the plowmen from the prairies of the West, the mechanics from the cities, the sons of the bankers and merchants, the students from our seats of learning, all arrayed themselves with a jaunty air under the colors of our King, and they went to Salisbury and Shorncliffe and from thence into the inferno of Flanders; many of them fell heroically, torn or crushed by steel or bullet,



and their souls went out in the beyond. They were hastily buried by the pious ones of their race in the mud of the trenches, and a little white cross marks to-day the spot where their bleached bones lie. Two years have elapsed, and our soldiers who fought and fell have won immortal fame, not only for themselves but for Canada, our common country; and though after two years the eye can detect in the clouds beyond the silver lining, yet the end, as the Prime Minister said a moment ago, the end is distant. But the end will be, the end must be, what it should be and what it will be. Democracy the world over, imperilled by the military caste of Berlin, must ultimately triumph. We are assembled this evening to resolve that, as we did last year and two years ago, this war which is not finished is still Canada's war. We are assembled this evening to declare publicly to the world that we still stand by the ideals of Great Britain and her gallant allies. Here we are assembled this evening, as free British subjects, to declare without boasting words or high-sounding phrases, that we shall not lay aside our arms until justice and liberty are vindicated. The end may be distant yet, but for anyone who takes a long view the end will be what it should be. Victory for Germany and the Central Empire is materially and morally impossible. Time is with the allies; men, money and munitions are increasingly theirs; above all they stand to fight in a just cause, and this will in the long run bring our hopes to a ripe maturity. The speeches of the Kaiser will never obscure the handwriting on the wall. The days of the War Lords are past; the superman shall not dominate the plain people in the twentieth century. With France invaded, with Belgium in the hands of the assassins, with Serbia crucified, with Poland under the oppressor's heel, with Armenia bleeding as she is, can we talk here in Canada of neutrality or any such attitude in this war? I say on behalf of the Canadian people, and I think I voice the sentiments of the Canadian people, can there be any neutrality? No—a thousand times no! The war may be long and the toll of dead and wounded may be doubled before the lines are broken, but they will be broken. Already from the banks of the Meuse and from the banks of the Somme the soldiers of Joffre and the army of Kitchener—Kitchener silent in his lifetime, eloquent in his

death—the soldiers of Joffre and the soldiers of Kitchener are setting a tide towards the Rhine. Militarism shall not rule the world in the coming generation, frightfulness and spying shall not be the golden rule of international law. That cannot be. That grim determination to stem the tide of the Germans, the Austrians and their allies the Turks has been carried out during the year which is expiring this evening. Off the coast of Jutland, the British navy, true to its past traditions, has inflicted—notwithstanding the mendacious articles of Berlin—a humiliating defeat to the German Armada, and a few weeks ago the Russians who had been retreating, no doubt impelled by a vision of the regeneration and free government in their country, have halted the march of the invaders and are themselves to-day the invaders in the plains of Hungary.

And what of France? Great as she was, greater is she to-day. France has found herself on the day of the declaration of war, and I dare say that Verdun is in the history of the world the most flamboyant thing to-day. Never before was France so calm so resolute and so sure of herself and of the path she treads, red and wet with the blood of her soldiers. There at Verdun the watchword is “no one shall pass;” because the genius of France has been placed around her ramparts, around the ramparts of the historic citadel. Speaking on behalf of my French Canadian fellowmen, I find no words to express my deep gratitude to Great Britain and the British Empire for the unfailing support she has given our old mother country in this her Gethsemane. Never in her marvellous history, never in her tumultuous history, has France drunk as deeply the cup of agony, nor borne so nobly the sacrifice of her life and the sacrifice of her children's lives. But if history will record the fate that France has been subjected to, then my fellowmen in the Province of Quebec will also record the fact that if her sacrifice has availed, if she will be able to-morrow to fulfill her destiny in the world, it is because she found at her side from the very first moment her old rival, England, the friend in need, the friend indeed. They had been quarrelling for many years, and the other day one of the leaders of the French Parliament, receiving the Parliamentary delegation from Westminster, said to him: “We have been awaiting you for ten centuries.” And the delegate



answered: "Let us make peace for ever and be united in the cause of freedom and civilization," and so, as after a long lovers' quarrel, they have made up their little differences, and to-day they furnish the world with the unique spectacle of the two peoples standing for the highest standards of government and civilization. And they will stand together until this world falls into the abyss.

May I not say to my friends of English-speaking origin that I and my fellowmen of French-Canadian origin are also waiting since the battle on the Plains of Abraham to make up with you? Sir Robert is my witness. He promised me two years ago that we shall some day celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of our Canadian Confederation. This anniversary would take place, in ordinary circumstances, on the first of July of next year. That confederation was made possible by the union and patriotism of such men as McDonald, Cartier, George Brown, Oliver Mowat and Sir Charles Tupper. We have a young country, rich in resources of all kinds, inhabited by a strong and healthy race; chiefly predominant are the French and the English. We have made during the last half century wonderful strides. The government, the old government, nearly doubled the territory of Canada by creating two or three provinces. We have nearly doubled our territory, and I am pleased to say that the trade of Canada which in 1867 or 1868 was represented by, I believe, exports and imports, some \$59,000,000, has reached to-day, under the present administration, the high water mark of one billion dollars. So we have made strides during the last half century; but—this point I wish to emphasize at this meeting this evening,—more precious than the expansion of our territory, more precious than the wealth of our bankers and merchants, more precious than all of the natural resources of our land, there is union and harmony, which are essential to the welfare of Canada. Divine Providence has so willed it that we of French and English origin, should be in this fair land of Canada the joint trustees of the two greatest civilizations, the French and the English. Some centuries ago, when the Scotch were not yet civilized and when they were fighting England with the French, the Highlanders could not speak French of course, and their music had no French tunes.

But the Highlanders—witty as they are, although drily witty—on the same plains of Flanders adopted a watchword in order to be recognized by their French allies with whom they were fighting the English soldiers. That watchword was not very long, because the Scotch are as short in their words as in their kilts. It was "Bon Accord," and these two words are to be found to-day in the City of Aberdeen.

Sir Robert, I commend these two words to your extremists, and I shall commend them to my extremists. In this war, Canada found her soul, and in the years to come she will be more self-confident, more united and more responsive to her duties as a great nation than ever before. Our boys, our soldiers, fighting side by side in the mud of Champagne, by their close association with the soldiers of Joffre and of Sir Douglas Haig will have learned a lesson of mutual respect and of mutual friendliness. They will have learned a lesson of mutual respect; that is to say, the respect not only of virtues, the respect not only of equality, but respect of prejudices. They will have learned that great lesson, and I pray Divine Providence that that lesson learned by our soldiers fighting with the Tommies and the Poilus shall not be lost to us living in Canada.

As to the brave men who have fought and died at Langemarck, at St. Julien, at Ypres, they gave us their unflinching devotion and loyalty to their King and to their country and to the cause of democracy. Let us, on this the second anniversary of this great war here be dedicated to the unfinished work of those honored dead, because though their voices have been silenced those silent voices still speak.

The Chairman then again read the resolution, proposed by Sir Robert Borden and seconded by Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, which was unanimously carried.



(October 30, 1916)

## COMMERCIAL CONDITIONS AFTER THE WAR

---

By SIR GEORGE FOSTER

---

*[The members of the Dominion Royal Commission were the guests of the Club at this luncheon.]*

I WISH to take a few moments to identify myself with the chairman's remarks as to the temper and quality and kind of men who assembled at the different Canadian Clubs, during the extensive course of travel which I have been, with my fellow Commissioners, carrying out in Canada. If there is one thing that stimulates a man who has passed a great many years trying to do what is good in the service of his country, it is to watch the younger generation, to observe their temper, their devotion, their ideals; and it is particularly pleasant for me here in Canada, for my observation extends pretty well from the opening of Confederation to the present time. Particularly pleasant it is to recognize how the younger men of this country are coming up to the measure of the tremendous responsibilities that rest upon them. Every time you speak of Canada, its immense resources, its illimitable possibilities, you put an additional responsibility for the strength of duty and purpose of the rising generation.

No amount of material possibilities stored by nature and given in such wide profusion will make this country great or develop it as it should be developed, unless the men and women of this country rise to the height of their duties, to the efficiency, the purpose, the devotion that is absolutely essential, and, putting their broad shoulders, keen minds and strong hearts beneath this burden, carry through a progress and development such as is worthy of this country, and as is asked by the Empire and the world.

As I look at this younger generation as represented by the men of the Canadian Clubs, I have little fear as to the future. My only regret is that I cannot live another hundred years to see what Canada under wise counsels and great principles can make of herself in that century. I don't know where I shall be at the end of that time, but when I leave on my final journey I shall leave with hope and confidence.

I would have liked that this meeting should have been given over to my friends of the Dominions Royal Commission, but I am here, and expected to speak, so I must go ahead. And indeed my task is lightened because I appear before you out of the very midst of the business of a very busy life. I have nothing cut and dried ready for you. Part of my labor is happily relieved by the feeling that before an audience such as this all that is needed is suggestion and impulse. The power of systematic co-ordinating, and metabolizing and carrying out, resides in the brains, the vigorous sterling qualities and wide experience of men like yourselves in this great city of Montreal.

There are two or three types of mind. I might particularize. There is the man amongst you who says: "Well, it is said you are to speak to us about the conditions that will confront us when the war closes and peace sets in. Why all this pother about that? We are sufficiently busy now, and have all we can do. It is the war that has to be attended to now. Let us leave the matter of what shall be done when peace comes until peace is declared, and we will attend to it then. One thing at a time, and at this time it is war activities only."

I have but to appeal to the experience and memory of those present. The same answer can be given to that question now as, in the light of our experience, is the only answer that could be given to the equally strenuous period in this war two or three years ago. Because the people of the British Empire, in those menacing and fateful years that preceded the declaration of war, said there was to be no war—that we were engaged in the arts of peace and it was sufficient to follow them, and when war should come we would take care of it—when the war broke, it broke over an empire, over a group of allies, who were ill prepared to meet a foe who had



been diligently preparing a campaign for the domination of the world during the previous 40 years.

If during those preceding years they had been even partially prepared, this war with all its carnage, destruction and horrors would have been ended months ago, and much of the expense, the loss of life, the destruction of property would have been avoided. It is well that we should take to heart the lesson taught us then and beaten into us so bitterly; and, instead of entirely ignoring the probable conditions, and waiting to face them when peace comes, to devote at least a portion of our busy hours and active minds to facing them and conjuring the best methods of meeting them.

There is another type of mind which says: "Why bother about it now? We are very busy, pressed in all lines, we have more than we can do, and have no time to attend to these possible future conditions; we shall not have time to attend to it until the condition arises."

My answer is, I think that position is unsound. Your business is running well, your returns are strong and generous. Your bank balances are creeping up. You talk of the balance of trade, and point to it with pardonable pride, but in the last analysis does it not appeal to you that nine-tenths of this prosperity is based upon an unpermanent and fictitious basis? That must come to an end some time, and that basis of prosperity must finish in a night. So it is well that you should take a portion of your busy hours from day to day even now and find out what will face you when the war ends, and how to meet conditions when they face you then.

There is another type, the happy go lucky individual who says: "Why borrow all this trouble? There was never as much money in Canada as there is to-day. There was never as much money in the world in the banks as there is to-day. Business is flourishing, the position will take care of itself. When the war munitions orders end and the factories close their doors and the soldiers are called back from the trenches, and peace takes up her many activities again all things will go on as usual. We shall tread along the old familiar paths and it will be as though the order went out to the great brigade of labor 'As you were,' and that brigade would leave its present activities and march into the fields

and factories of peace without confusion or delay or loss."

To the individual who thinks that way I do not propose to apply any argument. He will enjoy himself until the war closes and then he will find himself in the soup.

I propose by way of suggestion to present a few facts that you all know. It is peculiar that you all know the ten commandments, yet you pay preachers in every city in Christendom to call them to your minds at least one day out of seven—and it is lucky for you that you do. So it is with everything else. Line upon line, precept upon precept, sermon upon sermon, advice upon advice. You take what you wish of it, but it does tone up the moral system and keep things going. So I will present to you several things that have convinced me that the happy-go-lucky fellow will open his eyes on a different world when peace comes, from the world that was before the war started.

Take our own country alone. When this war is over—and before it is over—Canada will have abstracted from the farm, the forest, the factories and fisheries and her other industries half a million adult Canadians, and transferred them absolutely from productive and beneficial employment into a destructive engineering, which brings about the abolition of as much property as possible, the destruction of as much human life as possible. Did you ever stop and think what it would mean to abstract half a million producers from this country in the space of one, two or three years? It must mean something. Put it down in your books and some time, at your leisure, figure out what it means.

And alongside every man fitted for and going to the trenches to carry on the active battle of the country it is said that from one to two men are taken out of their usual lines of labor as subsidiary to the operations of the fighting men at the front. That is no doubt true. There are different calculations, but a good authority in England told me that for every man in the trenches two other men were engaged in subsidiary war activities of one kind or another.

That means at the least calculation 500,000 men in Canada who were formerly engaged in productive energy and work have been abstracted from that and put on the work



of ministering to the necessities of the execution of the war on the firing line and in the trenches. They are not doing what they were doing before the war started. They are actively engaged with all their resources of capital, labor and energy in producing the implements, explosives and thousand and one things necessary to equip the soldier for efficient work. Put that down in your note book, and some time at your leisure figure out to yourselves what it means.

There is something more than that. Soldiers are not made, provided and maintained, and those subsidiary services as well, without capital, without expenditure, so that, added to what I have already stated, millions upon millions of our daily, weekly and monthly expenditures are being made over and above what would be spent in times of peace—and they are being made for destructive purposes, not for the usual beneficial or productive purposes.

Millions and millions of debt are being loaded upon this and each one of the other participating countries, the burden of which must be borne in payment of interest by the men who follow the declaration of peace, by the generations yet to come. Finances, expenditures, debts, interest, all these are to be taken into the bargain as well. Make that your third note for consideration, and see what it means to you.

Then in a sense greater than all that, the expenditure of humanity—that 500,000 adult men who left in their strength and vigor will come back to us. Many of them will never come back. Their dust is mingled with the dust of Flanders and France and Gallipoli. In almost every quarter of this world they sleep the everlasting sleep. We shall see their faces no more. The work of their hands and their hearts will never return to us.

How many hundreds of thousands will return as they have left? I have looked at the trenches. I have heard the thunders of the artillery. I have seen the gaunt and horrible results of the war, and I tell you that men cannot go through that Hell of struggle, through that Hell of intense suffering and shock and pain, and come back the same as they left us. And of those who come back, how many of them—each can settle it for himself—never to be exactly the same as they were before, as efficient workers or efficient producers in the

general community. How long is that trail of ruin and bereavement and desolation and consequent suffering which must be borne by the families after peace comes, and borne by the generation which is now actively at work!

Take all those into account. It is a burden—a loving burden I grant you, we are proud to do anything we can for them. The family welcomes them to its hearth, and tends them with love and sympathy. We love to bear that burden if we must. It is part of our sacrifices, but it is a burden all the same, and it will clog and deter the wheels of the progress which might have been unhindered but for the war.

I have not shown all the factors. There are many and many more to be added. Your own minds will suggest what they are. But there is one conclusion I wish to make. Thirty millions, no, perhaps forty millions of soldiers in this great war have been or will have been interlocked in this gigantic struggle during the three years of the war. What have these men been doing apart from their abstraction from the beneficent productive energies of the world? They have been smashing the accumulated wealth and production of the past, burning and destroying as fast as they could. The accumulated wealth of the world has been attacked as it never was attacked before in the history of the world.

My happy-go-lucky friend cannot face all that and say that nothing is happening and that conditions will not be changed after the war. You cannot have that abstraction from production, that destruction of wealth, and, what is infinitely worse, that destruction of life and soul power without the world feeling it deeply and long.

From all this I conclude that when the bells of peace ring out and the tocsin of war resounds no more, we shall open our eyes on a world so different from what it was in August, 1914, that we had better be getting our thinking caps on, and get ready for those changed conditions.

To you business men of Montreal that is all my plea on that point. But I have another suggestion on another point. I have issued a call to action. Many of you perhaps have read it. Probably most of you have not, and will not. As Minister of Trade and Commerce I issued that call along the lines of what I have said to you to-day, not because I felt or



thought it was possible for a Minister of Trade and Commerce, or for that matter for a government, to do all the thinking and planning that was necessary, or all the systematization and organization that will be necessary. All I and the Government can do is to call the attention of the people thereto and ask them to think it out, for they are the practical men of business, and it is their business to do this thinking and planning.

It struck me that when the war has finished and we enter upon the works of peace again—it may happen next year or the year after—but whenever it does happen we shall be in a world so different from this, that unless we begin to adapt ourselves to those different conditions we shall find ourselves in a lamentable state of unpreparedness, and consequently subject to great confusion, loss and delay.

The world will be different because its business will be carried on differently. Sound the word this moment, draw off the war, proclaim the peace, and what happens? That very hour every one of your munition factories, broadly speaking, shuts its gates. Every man and woman employed there is out of employment. Every bit of specialized machinery placed there at so much cost will find itself without work. Those who are at present stuffed with government and war office orders jammed upon them, and constantly inspired to enlarge their plants for more production and yet more production, will find that, war orders having ceased, governments have little to offer in the way of peace orders.

That mass of employees at present engaged in that industry will go to the open streets and markets and ask: "What have you for us to do now?" There will be no more guns and rifles, no more explosives and shells and fuses or the thousand and one works subsidiary to the war. What have you in their place? You have to start in and solicit orders and work for this specialized machinery, get your business and machines adapted to that, and so utilize them as to prevent them from being scrapped. You have to direct your employees into the lines of peace, and you cannot do this unless you have markets. You will not manufacture unless you can sell your goods. In this war many of you have lost your peace customers, and have been so engrossed in this

war work that you could not give your attention to your old customers. They have left you. Their good will and custom has gone. You will have to get out and hustle to get it back, and you must look to the home and foreign markets as well.

And again, you will meet in the world markets a different world to that of August, 1914. It will be a world, disciplined, as you in Canada have not been disciplined, and taught as you have not been taught. What is the lesson you draw from Great Britain to-day in the mobilization and organization of her work? That what was formerly done in an absolutely haphazard and individual way, by organization and co-ordination has been made infinitely more effective. The great lesson has been taught that the nations must mobilize for works of peace as well as war, and that if they can mobilize to advantage in war work much more can they mobilize to advantage in carrying out the different arts and pursuits of peace.

So business will be done with different elements and factors than before, and on a larger scale, and, what is not least important, with the competition of organized scientific production, which has never before been met in the history of the production and trade exchanges in the world. If that is right, is it not time that we thought these matters over and started to set the house in order? They are doing it in Great Britain and in France and Italy and Russia—all the great lines of industry, aided by every resource that science can bring and business ability can add, are being utilized in a school of voluntary service never before known.

What is the lesson the Empire has been taught? That heretofore we had been uncareful of our own resources, unwatchful of our own necessities, in providing for our own national interests, letting everything run to individualism, no matter whether the individual was German or Austrian or any other nationality. When we woke up at the sound of war and felt its restrictions, we awoke to the fact that we had been asleep for generations, and had allowed the best resources of our empire to get into foreign hands, and had been neglectful of what was most necessary to our eternal existence. That will never occur again.



The Empire has learned another lesson. Talk of your soldiers from Britain as you please, the fact remains that they are unequalled. But the Empire acknowledges the fact that without the splendid co-operation of all parts of that empire, even Great Britain could not have done what she has done and still proposes to go on doing.

If co-operation is good for the works of the empire war, are not the works of peace of far greater and more lasting importance than the works of war? War is but temporary, even at the worst. Peace and her arts run on from century to century.

If the lesson has been taught that to defend the Empire we gain by the co-operation of all its parts, shall not that lesson be applied to the works of peace within the Empire, and teach us that as an Empire we should co-ordinate our resources and our efforts, and help each one the other; each help all and all help each? There is no shadow of doubt that lesson has been learned, and will be put into practice.

That opens up a vision for future trade and development that we have never had before except in the minds of thinkers who were called visionaries; but which to-day has wrought itself into the fabric of reality, until it is limned, definite and concrete, and impressed upon the mind of every citizen of the Empire.

The Allies have shed their blood one with the other in a union that has hallowed the battlefields. What more wonderful thing has the history of the world shown than that taking of the allied nations, with their diversity of governments, climates and economic conditions, races and creeds, living all around the world, who have in this splendid devotion to an ideal they all strongly held, so wrought and come together that their armies move to-day, over those immense battle fronts as though under one man, to one purpose, under one strategic impulse? Shall the allies bleed and die in the attempt to defend their liberties; shall many of them be desolated to the very heart's core in the process, and then when at last peace comes shall these allies forget all the lessons of co-operation and union? No. Not for a moment. After the work of war is over, they will continue allies in the works of peace. They will be allies in binding up the broken hearts.

They will be allies in putting roofs upon the homes burned and desolated; they will be allies in building up the industrial capabilities and services of the different countries. They will be allies in the great effort for reconstruction, and in getting back to the position of independence and sovereignty so sorely tried by the war. These allies will co-operate and work one with another in commerce, in production, in service, in everything that tends to strengthen and bring back to those that have suffered most, something like the position from which they have been driven by the horrible ravages of war.

One word more. Do not make a false god of simple trade and exchange. Do not deify the word trade, which means exchange of materials, beyond the niche it should occupy. I pray you all to turn your eyes upon this most wonderful country of Canada with all its resources, impossible to describe because we have only seen the outer edges of them—those inexhaustible resources, the promise of which has so far only been held out to us. What is it will make Canada great and grow and develop and progress and conserve these great endowments of Providence, and consecrate them to their best ends? You cannot realize it unless you realize this fact—production, production and again production is what is necessary to make the wheels of industry go round, and make Canada the strong power she ought to be. You will never realize that position in Montreal or Canada by swapping jackknives with each other from morning till night at an advance of a cent per swap. You will not realize that by dawdling in a broker's office and running up the price of real estate—criminally and wrongfully, because that is putting a handicap on business. You can get it only in proportion as you take hold of the endowments that are ours, develop them by your sound sense and efficient machinery and work, and produce from the valueless the practically valuable.

You have made great sacrifices. How many of you men have sons or brothers or other relations at the front? You have given them proudly, willingly, on the altar of sacrifice. You have said: "We have enjoyed liberties which have been bought for us in the past by blood and the lives of men. To-day in the time of menace and stress we frankly and joyfully pay



our debt to the past, and stand in the everlasting gateways of broad and high civilization and pure ideals of living for the generations that are to come after us, that they may have what those who went before gave us. If we bleed, that is part of the sacrifice all future generations will share as they share the joys of the liberty we are defending."

You have done all that freely in defence of the Empire. Learn to give just as freely, just as generously, just as unselfishly in the works of peace. Have we not been fighting each other altogether too much? Have not labor and capital locked horns for many a day, and for a sufficiency of days? Is it possible that the suspicions and jealousies of business shall be allowed to retard our business—or is it possible that out of the ashes of the sacrifices of the present we shall rise to a splendor of exalted and magnified business, and put the same willing and unselfish effort, something of the same spirit of sacrifice into the works of peace that we have so proudly and generously given to the works of war?

After all, men and women, is this not absolutely true, that the riches of the earth as God has given them to us, that all these advantages in this country which are so strongly and generously ours, are not here to please the individual fancies, to minister to individual comforts, to be a sort of stepping stone to individual preferment? That, after all trade, the distributor, and production, the maker, are applied to all these things simply to render it possible for the human unit and human family to attain better heights than before? Do not forget, these things are for the good of man and the glory of God. Let us import into the future business of Canada and of this Empire and of the world, more of that civilization of business which looks at everything as a trust and at ourselves as trustees, getting the generous user while it passes through our hands. After all its ultimate purpose is to make men better, and life on earth a little nearer to heaven.





(November 4, 1916)

## WITH THE FOREIGN LEGION

---

By LIEUT. ZINOVI PECKHOFF.

---

**L**ADIES and Gentlemen, it is rather a difficult task for me to speak to you about the war. The thing is so vast. There are so many things to tell you about that really one is embarrassed. Whenever I begin to speak I don't know what to tell from the many, but I hope to be able to tell you something.

I was in Italy when the war broke out, and was unable to get back to Russia immediately to join the army there, so I decided to go to France, on the fourth day after mobilization; and enlisted with the foreign legion, in its first regiment, of which I am very proud indeed. It was mentioned in the army despatches three times, and I would like to read you in what words General Joffre mentioned it. He says: "The 2nd Regiment, First Foreign Legion, when told to take with the bayonet a very strong German position, went into the attack, the colonel at the head of the men, with superb gallantry, gaining without stop several kilometres of ground, in spite of the lively opposition of the enemy and the violent fire of machine guns."

It was in these words my regiment was mentioned in the army despatches. But you must not think that this regiment is really exceptional, and that other regiments have not had the chance, or shown themselves as brave. About two months ago, I lunched with a colonel at his position at the front. "I am very much embarrassed," he told me, "because the General wants me to mention the distinguished brave amongst my men in despatches, and in that case every one of them should be mentioned." And every colonel speaks in the same way about his men, in every regiment of the French and English armies now fighting in France.

I would like to tell you about the trench life, with which you are not familiar, even though there are so many descriptions of it in the papers and magazines. But even if the newspaper correspondents really have very good imaginations, they cannot conceive the reality of this life, or how the twenty-four hours of every day are spent there.

We, who entered the trenches in September, 1914, we also did not know what trench life meant and what kind of a war it was going to be. This war is absolutely without precedent. There never was such fighting and trench work for so long a period. We never imagined it possible to be within a hundred metres or yards of each other and not completely destroy each other, with the terrible means of destruction furnished for this war. Yet this is the third year of war, and the armies still face each other and have not exterminated each other.

The day before we went into the trenches our colonel took the whole regiment—we were billeted in a village in Champagne—on a hill which overlooked the whole valley of Rheims, and we saw the lovely valley, and the cathedral of Rheims within six kilometres of us. The Colonel said: "You see the plain there below us? Well, that is the field of battle." Yet there was nothing to be seen on it, just the plain fields. He said: "You see those long white lines running across?" "Yes." "Well, those are the trenches." That was all very well. But of course none of us had any idea of what those white lines really looked like, or what the life there would really be.

At midnight we were called to the trenches. We descended the hill over a road and field and through some woods, and going out we came to a ditch, and everyone whispered, "Yes, here are the trenches," and we went into the ditch. It was very cold and windy and heavy rain was falling. The trenches are always made zig-zag, so we walked as one walks into the unknown, and that is really what it was. We could not really realize how many minutes or hours it was; we were so enveloped by this unknown thing that a whole lifetime seemed to have passed since we left the village and left behind us the life we were used to. Finally we were told to stand. They said that this was the fighting trench and the enemy



was before us, and we were told to fix bayonets and stand to arms,—and we stood to arms the whole night, with the rain pouring down on us.

It is difficult to imagine, in this comfortable hotel with its beautiful protection, what it means to stand the whole night under the rain. But here we were, and none complained, and we stood like that until dawn. Our men would not talk, but would only whisper to one another. The morning came, cold and wet, and we were all soaked to the skin. We were ordered not to look up from the trenches, because if we put our heads up we should be hit. There was very heavy firing going on, and none knew what was ahead of us.

I want you to feel these first few hours of the underground existence of the war. Looking from this village you see nothing but those white lines. But when we had been there for weeks and months, and went back to the village, we would know that even though nothing was seen there the field was full of men, and that there was a strange life going on under those long white lines.

We were about 800 yards from the Germans when we first came to the trenches. We thought it was very near, and whispered under our breaths to each other, and would not light our cigarettes at night, because the enemy was so close. Now all that seems very childish. The opposing trenches are often within fifteen yards of one another, and our men not only speak but sing. None bothers now about the enemy being so near. When we left those trenches in Champagne to be transferred to the northern part of France in January our first line was within 100 yards of the German lines, and our listening posts were within 15 yards of the enemy parapet and wire entanglements. All this wire was laid by us and all these lines and labyrinths of trenches were dug under the fire of the enemy with only the cover of night. Sometimes it was not very pleasant to work in the open field, but nobody minded. I remember when there would be very clear moonlight our shadows would show very black on the ground, and often the Germans would mistake our shadows for our bodies, and fire at the shadows. Sometimes, of course, our bodies also were hit; that is one of the things that must be when you go to war.

Our first lines were not connected at first, and our machine gun section was not connected with the battalion, so that if the Germans attacked us the machine guns would be cut off from us. So on the fourth night we commenced to trace a line, and in two nights we dug 400 yards of trench and joined our machine gun section. I can assure you it was really a great pleasure to us to join our friends again; previously it had been too far to communicate with them during the daytime and we could only crawl over there at night.

In those first weeks of war there were not many communication trenches, and at times we would be entirely cut off from the rest of the troops at day time, and could only get hot food at night, when we would get hot soup. Of course it was only cold hot, but perhaps it had been hot in the kitchen five miles away. Nevertheless, we were impressed that originally it had been hot, and took it all for granted, and had great pleasure in having even that.

Now, as to the distribution of the days and hours, that depends entirely upon what sector any regiment or battalion or company takes in charge. In some parts, where the action is brisk, the soldiers stay three days in the front line, and always during those three days they are on duty twenty-four hours a day. They have two hours sentinel go and two hours rest, each near his loop-hole. Everyone has his own loop-hole there. It is the only property they have. Our rifles would be put into these, and during the two hours we would rest there, ready to be called to arms any moment and take the consequences.

After these first days the troops were sent to the village behind the wood, to the fourth lines, where they had a complete rest. In the second lines a troop would stay eight days, and would be engaged in working in the rear, preparing barbed wire entanglements, cutting wooden poles, etc., and at night they would reinforce the first line in case of emergency.

But you must not think that life in the trenches is only fighting and work and that it is always a terribly strenuous life everyone feeling himself to be at war. No. Sometimes we were so used to the cannonade and the noise of the rifle fire that we would not pay any attention to it or even seem to hear it—so do people adapt themselves and create a new life.



Just as before that we had created our civilian life, the soldiers and officers of the troops created their own lives. There are theatres behind the fourth lines, about two kilometres from the front, where we had plays and addresses and music. We had football games, and all the requirements of the ordinary life adapted to our particular circumstances. That shows the adaptability and superb quality of energy of the French troops, and particularly the Foreign Legion. There was never a complaint. If it rained three or four or five days they adapted themselves to that. If it was sunshine they adapted themselves to that, and everyone would go and have a shave and dry his clothes and see the blue sky, and sometimes even hear the song of a bird.

It is very strange to hear the birds at the front. I remember hearing the naive song of a bird in March mingled with the crashing of the bombardment. We would hear this bird singing and then the crash of a cannon or shell would come, and then the bird would continue its singing, to the joy of the men in the trenches. You see human nature is not all crushed down there.

The first year was very difficult. Now I came from the Somme seven weeks ago. In the first weeks of the war the Germans would fire upon us from their guns and we never replied. Not because we were too proud. No, but because we really had no guns to reply with. But this trench warfare, this barrier made by the French soldiers between France and the enemy, permitted France to re-create itself, and organize all the needed material and munitions, build railways and roads for strategic purposes, until they have achieved the results you see to-day. Take, for instance, the announcement in the despatches, of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres taken from the Germans. You may think that a very small distance, but if you only realized how every inch of the ground was fortified, and by what means it is defended by the Germans, you would appreciate the meaning of every metre of ground taken by the English and French.

The morale of the troops was excellent, even at the very first, when we had not the splendid material we now have. Now notwithstanding two years of continuous fighting, the morale of the troops is excellent—and in addition to that

they have behind them every kind of supplies and munitions. Plenty of artillery of every calibre from small guns to 380 calibre. I have seen whole trains of 400 calibre guns. We did not have them at the beginning, but we have them now. When one sees all the wonderful preparations of to-day one really has the confidence that we shall crush the enemy. It was a difficult task to organize this immense war, but everything is organized now. The front is like a huge workshop, with everything perfectly detailed and organized.

Two months ago I went with a Colonel of the General Staff to a certain point in the Somme, and I saw a new road leading through the fields. I said it looked like a new road. He said: "Yes, mon enfant. Five days ago this road did not exist." I said, "What do you mean?" He said: "You know this is a position we conquered a week ago?" I said "Yes." He said, "Well, we had to take munitions through, we had to evacuate the wounded men and many other things, so we had to build this road. It is sixteen kilometres long, and it was built in one day!" I wondered at that, and said it seemed impossible. He said: "Well, we had to do it, so we called in four regiments of the territorial troops, 16,000 men, and each man had to do only one metre." That is how it was done. Imagine 16,000 men lined up, 8,000 picks, 8,000 shovels, each working simultaneously. Is it not magnificent? Does not that show the morale, the resource and spirit of our troops?

In the old days of war, there would be great chances to show publicly the courage of everyone. Now, the same courage and perseverance and bravery and energy is required from the soldier, not only for the great moment of the charge, but for months and months of this monotonous life.

And the Germans, they too know what it is; because from the prisoners we take now we see how their morale is declining. I do not underestimate our enemy. They are still strong, and have great forces and many troops, but we have more than they have. Do not think that they are weak and dead. They are strong—but we are stronger.

Now for a few sensations or moods of the trench life, or perhaps at the rear of the trenches—there are so many things. There is a village I remember once we came to during the night.



It was very dark but clear, the sky like black velvet with big stars. We came to a very ruined village. You cannot imagine the extent to which a village can be ruined. No earthquake could ruin a town or village as a bombardment will reduce and ruin the dwellings of men. In the cellars we had material for the trenches, and we were walking quietly along, only our steps sounding in the streets, when suddenly we heard the sounds of music from somewhere in the village. We all stopped, and wondered, each one in his own thoughts, what in the world it could be. We knew everything was ruined and that there was no civilian life in the village, yet the music came very distinctly. So instead of going to the right where our cellar was we went to the left, where the sound came from, and that led us to the destroyed church. Only the tower still rose high above, pointing like a finger toward the sky, and the music continued. We went into the church, and as soon as the sounds of our steps were heard the music ceased, and a shadowy figure approached us. We said: "Who are you?" "Oh," he said, "I am an artillery brigadier. The organ of the church has not been destroyed, so when I am off duty I just come here and play."

I had the great good fortune to see in Paris the Review of the 14th. of July. It was with the deepest emotion that I watched the allied troops from all over the world parade through the streets. I realized it was a sight unique in the world's history, and this fete the greatest even Paris had ever witnessed. Everyone felt that it was the day of fraternization between all the Allies, companions at arms. Friends and sons had stolen a day between two battles to come and visit those waiting anxiously at home, and Paris opened wide the gates of her heart and did them honor. One wished that the enemy could have seen the streets of Paris on that day, even his pride would have received a cruel shock. Paris has certainly never seen a more wonderful military parade. The spectacle will hardly be surpassed when the triumphant armies return and march under the Arc de Triomphe, except that on that day our hearts will be lighter and more joyful.

The first to march by were the Belgians, first in honor, as in sacrifice; then followed the English, who had nobly kept the anniversary of France's national feast by re-taking three

French villages from German hands; then followed the Canadians, who had crossed the seas to come and fight for the Old Country; the Russians, who greeted Paris in the beautiful religious accents of their military songs; and finally our French troops, closing the procession, proudly greeted as they passed, with the names of their greatest exploits: mountaineers of the Vosges, rifle brigades of the Argonne and Verdun, naval fusiliers of the Yser, colonials and native troops, showing us gratitude for having brought them peace and security by coming to fight for our cause. Such was the army that Paris had the honor to acclaim and decorate with flowers, the army of European union, the first symbol of the army of the future, the army of the world, that will forever stand for right against might.

It was really a sight as magnificent as unique to see these war-tried troops march before one, in the very midst of the war, as from the Somme to the Carpathians the battle was raging—a historic pageant in the most beautiful setting that heart could desire for the display of military pomp. The troops passed on and on, but they did not pass according to the ordinary rites of military ceremonies. Here it was all quite different. Along their course, except at the approach to the Place de la Republique, there accompanied them other men—women who took their places in the ranks and marched bravely forward, as if they too meant to accompany these brave troops to the end, performing their duties as nobly. And there was not one man in the whole lot who, besides his medals and Croix de Guerre, did not bear a token of fresh flowers to remind him of the ever fresh and grateful thoughts of those at home. Soldiers and civilians had all the same expression of concentrated resolution. There was only one little difference—the eyes of the spectators were wet with tears, while those of the departing soldiers were clear and shining. The boulevards represented to them a great road that led, not to the French Bastille, but onwards into the east, toward that other Bastille, which is Germany.

The march thus assumed a symbolic character, the allied armies marching to the assault of that terrific and colossal fortress of despotism that rises up heavy and crushing, like that Monument of Nations at Leipzig, a nightmare of stone,



typical expression of the spirit of the nation that built it. The German bastion darkens and oppresses the sky of Europe and the world. It is imperative for the peace and security of humanity that the Bastille of Prussian militarism should be destroyed.

The 14th of July was the finest proof that could be given of the unanimity of spirit amongst the Allies. It showed that there is only one war, only one front, and that the soldiers of all the allied nations are fighting but one enemy in the common cause: for the liberty of small and oppressed nations, for the respect of international treaties, for the free development of each nationality on the basis of equality and justice, against the military oppression of Prussia, who wanted to conquer the whole world by mere brute force.





(Monday, November 7, 1916)

## THE WAR AND OUR CANADIANS AT THE FRONT

---

By N. W. ROWELL, K.C.

---

I HAD the opportunity of addressing this Club some 15 or 18 months ago. I am sure we all then hoped, we probably expected, that the war would be over before this time. Our expectations have not been realized.

So to-day my subject is: "The War and Our Canadians at the Front."

We have sent over 250,000 Canadian men to take part in the war. We did it because we were British citizens; because as such we were interested in the causes and results of that great conflict. But let us not lose sight of the importance and deep significance of our action. We have voluntarily embarked upon a war with the greatest military power of the world. Whatever it could have been before we sent our troops across the seas, from that day on and to-day it is Canada's war just as much as Great Britain's. And we cannot carry on our share in that great war with Germany and Austria on a limited liability principle. We have gone into it, and our national future depends upon our helping to see it through to a successful conclusion.

The events of the past few months must have brought the war very close home to many Canadian homes; but one cannot visit England and France and then return home to Canada without noticing a distinct change in atmosphere. Our distance from the actual scenes of conflict seems to cloud our appreciation of its magnitude and significance. One needs to be at the front, to see the actual conditions under which our men are fighting, to appreciate adequately their heroism and sacrifices.

We in Canada have, following the policy of our Government, enlisted, organized and partially trained our forces. Then we send them overseas, where they complete their training, and when that training is complete they pass over to France to take their part in the struggle. We have had two principal training camps in England, Shorncliffe and Bramshott. At Shorncliffe was completed the training of reinforcing battalions; Bramshott has been used principally as a training camp for battalions that are going to form new divisions.

The western front, on which our Canadian troops are fighting, is 500 miles long. The extreme western end is held by the Belgians, supported partly by French troops. The next section, from the Belgian line down to the junction with the French army at the Somme, is held by troops of our Empire—from England, Ireland, Scotland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and elsewhere. Our Canadian corps was holding part of the Ypres salient when I was there, and none had as yet gone to the Somme. I cannot say how many miles we were holding; it was really a comparatively small section of the front, and we held these few miles with 70,000 men. When you pause to think that the battle line on the western and eastern fronts together is considerably over 2,000 miles in length, it gives you some faint conception of the magnitude of this great struggle.

It would look as if the young men of the progressive nations of Europe, assisted by citizens of the other sections of our Empire, were face to face in a death struggle for individual supremacy. Indeed at many times it is a struggle for individual supremacy; but it is really vastly more than that. Do not lose sight of the fact, as an inspiration to continue in this struggle, that while fighting for individual supremacy they are settling the whole character of the civilization which our children shall enjoy. Our fathers through the years and centuries of blood, struggle, toil and sweat, have won the liberties which we inherit. Shall we pass them on unimpaired to the generations yet to come? That is the task of this generation.

We had then at the front an army corps of three divisions, with 70,000 men. It is a complete fighting unit, comprising infantry, cavalry, artillery, Army Service Corps, Army Medi-



cal Corps, Engineers, everything complete save for the air service, which is supplied by the Imperial Army. I was glad, however, to find in the British air squadron some Canadians, amongst whom I met Flight Lieut. Macaulay, of Montreal, who is doing splendid service with that squadron. Personally, I venture to express the hope that we shall soon establish our own air service, so as to complete the fighting forces at the front for Canada. The reason we have not an air service is not because we have not many Canadians in the air service. It was a matter of gratification to me, and will be to all Canadians, that British officers have told me that they preferred the Canadians in this service, because when it came to a difficult and dangerous flight the Canadians had the courage and nerve to face it and risk the consequences, and the British officers told me they admired their pluck.

In Sir Julian Byng, who commands our Canadian forces at the front, we have a British officer in the prime of life, who has had large experience all over the world, and much experience in this war. He was in command of the British forces in Egypt when the war broke out, and immediately returned to England, where he had command of the 3rd cavalry division which was at the first Battle of Ypres. He was also at the Dardanelles until he succeeded to the command of the Canadian Army Corps.

I spent four days with our Canadians at the front, going in and out amongst them, and seeing the conditions under which modern war is carried on, and I count those four days amongst the most memorable of my life—I would not forego that experience at the front for anything I know.

The Ypres salient is not a healthy spot, as our men say, but I did not find one of our men who was not prepared, and glad, to go there. While they were holding a section of the Ypres salient, they were only holding half of it. The crack corps of the British army, the Guards, held the other half of that vital part of the front, where the Germans twice tried to hack their way through to Calais and the sea. When Britain wanted that vital point firmly held for the Allies she sent the Guards to take care of one half, and the Canadians to the other. And if many sons of Canada have fallen in that section of the front they lie side by side with the flower

of the British army, and many of the flower of the French army; for what was left of the British Army after Mons and the Marne, the strength and glory of the first British expeditionary force, was sacrificed after that memorable first battle of Ypres, whose anniversary we are commemorating at the present time.

I had the very great privilege of getting right up to the front. If I had only been with the forces for a day I should never have got there. I was told by the General that it was not permitted for civilians to do so, but when I had been with the troops for two or three days he relented, and let me up to the very front lines, and it was my good luck to have a Montreal man as my guide while there, Captain Talbot Papineau.

When we got to the front lines, the General in command said: "No, there is too much activity. I would not feel justified in letting you enter the trenches, but if you will spend the night with me at my headquarters"—it was General Rennie of Toronto—"I will take you to the trenches early in the morning." I gladly accepted the invitation. After dinner he said he was glad I was there, because there was "a bit of a show" on, which meant a lively time for the Germans. The Somme, of course, was the "big show," and this was to be a "little show" conducted by our Canadians. The general told me that at a certain hour our batteries would start bombarding the Germans' trenches, according to the scientific principles adopted in this war, which is always run exactly along a carefully planned time schedule.

I was taken to a position between our batteries and the front lines where I could witness this bombardment. I can assure you that the first sensations of a civilian with guns behind him shooting at something in front of him is not very comfortable at first, but one soon begins to realize that it is safe with the shells flying overhead, so that except for occasional stray bullets which whizzed past we were fairly comfortable. It was a glorious night, the moon and stars shining, while the whole battle line was lit up by German flares to illuminate No Man's Land—and on our part of the front the trenches only run from 40 to 200 yards apart.

The bombardment commenced, and the shells went



shrieking over our heads, and amidst the sound of the shells and their sharp explosions one heard the crack of rifles and the bang bang of the machine guns, the dull heavy explosions of the shell mortars. As we stood there I thought of what our gallant troops—for the Germans were responding in lively style—were subjected to day after day and night after night. When we came back I had a feeling not merely of respect but of affection for those gallant men who are so cheerfully risking and laying down their lives for us.

Next morning, just before 4 o'clock—I will not say I was awakened because I did not sleep very much in these novel and perilous surroundings—but I was conscious of a resumption of the artillery fire. I thought it was the Germans retaliating and that any time a big shell might reach the general's dugout; but the general said, "No, it is our guns bombarding again. I don't know what it is all about, because it is not on the programme, but we'll find out at the trenches." There we learned that the Germans had given our men rather a hot time of it with trench mortars and machine guns, and they had sent back word asking the artillery to respond and silence the Germans' fire. It evidently accomplished its purpose, for in half an hour or so our artillery ceased firing—and within five minutes the birds began singing in the trees, such are the contrasts between peace and war at the front.

I wish I could tell you about the trenches. We went to the firing line held by a Western Ontario Regiment, the 18th Battalion. I will only say this, my first impression was one of surprise at seeing so few men there—that was because I did not understand military procedure. There is no use keeping a large number of men in the firing lines and exposing them to unnecessary danger. It is only necessary to have a few sentries and snipers and observers and especially machine guns there. Under ordinary conditions they are able to cope with the situation and the rest of the men are in the trenches behind, near enough to be speedily available when wanted.

I saw the German positions through a periscope and that is the only way one wants to see them, because their snipers are just as active as ours. The snipers have a habit of putting a nick on the butts of their rifles for every German they

bring down, and I was introduced by the General to his champion sniper, who had no less than 76 nicks in his rifle.

When we left the front trenches and came to the communicating trenches I saw the rest of the battalion. Some were asleep in the trenches after the work of the night, others were dressing and performing their toilet, shaving, etc., under the open sky, cooking their breakfasts, etc. If we could only have forgotten that all the time they were under German fire, we should have thought it was a pleasant and comfortable party on an outing. I cannot describe the situation further, but let me add this. I that morning looked on the faces of gallant Canadians who the night before had entered the trenches full of life and hope, now silent and peaceful in their last long sleep. I could not but feel "Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends."

I found our men physically fit and looking exceedingly well. There was scarcely a friend—and I met many there—who did not look more robust and fit than when they left. Some of them, noticeably the officers, had markedly aged—who would not age living week by week and month by month under such conditions, particularly with the added responsibility of having men under their charge?

It was fine to see the men. They were all so ready for anything their officers called upon them to do. They went out there to fight. They went out there to put as many Germans out of action as it was possible for them to do; and, notwithstanding the casualties that are bound to come, our Canadians are never so happy as when they are doing the work which they crossed the seas to do.

I found on all sides the greatest appreciation of our Canadians and their work. In the early days, after the second battle of Ypres, when we received those descriptions by cable and in the press of how our Canadians had saved the day, some of us thought that perhaps they were giving us a little more than cold justice. But I learned from soldier and civilian alike that those early despatches did not overstate the case. The Canadians in the face of the greatest difficulties, because of the rapid retirement of the French Colonial troops in the face of the poisonous gases, used then for the first time, had to extend their lines to double their length. Those men,



fresh from the office, the factory, the farm, unaccustomed, many of them, to arms, and facing the finest troops of Germany, held their position hour after hour, day after day, and did save the day, and barred the way to Calais and the sea, and made the Germans' ultimate success in this war impossible. If I may sum up the opinion of British public men and officers it would be in the words of Asquith himself, who said to me of our Canadian troops: "None have fought better—none could have fought better."

I found the same appreciation in France, and may sum up the general opinion there by the expression Premier Briand used to me when he said: "None of the allied soldiers are more welcome in France than those splendid men, who have won imperishable glory for themselves and their country in this war." These tributes from the first men of Great Britain and France tell of the estimation in which our troops are held by the men of those countries.

When I talked to our soldiers I asked them "Isn't there anything I can do for you when I get back to Canada; isn't there any help I can render?" I don't know how many of them gave me practically the same answer, so I feel I am fairly justified in taking the answers I received as fairly representing their thoughts. Their first thought was "Take good care of the wounded who go home." In the face of ever present danger hour after hour they were not thinking of themselves but of their wounded comrades; and their first appeal to us in Canada was to take good care of the wounded who should come home. Unless we do so we shall not only fail to do justice to those gallant men who are at the front, but fail to do what is fair and right to the men who have made the supreme sacrifice in this battle for the right.

The next thing they thought of was the success of the cause. They said: "Send us men and more men and still more men." They are not under any illusions at the front as to the strength of the Germans' forces or as to the courage and determination of the German troops. Nor are they under any illusion as to their own capacity, for, having measured strength with them day after day and month after month, our Canadians are absolutely satisfied that they, with the British, the Australians, the New Zealanders, South Africans

and French are, man for man, better than the German soldier, and under even conditions can win a glorious victory in this war.

I told some of the officers that we would give them a glorious welcome back to Canada, and one of them said to me: "I never expect to go back to Canada. I came with the Canadian troops when they first came here. I have been exceptionally fortunate. Most of my brother officers have fallen, and it is scarcely humanly possible that I should expect to see this war through." Yet, with that feeling, brave and courageous and with a cheerful smile he was going ahead doing his day's work. And that is the feeling of all our men. I was talking with another of the Princess Patricias at the ramparts of Ypres, just after a serious engagement. Just the night before they left the trenches they lost six men by German shell fire, and of these six belonged to the very small remnant of the men who left with the battalion after it was formed. And of those five four had been entitled to leave, and had been offered their leave before going to the trenches this time. But they said they would not take it, there were so many new men as reinforcements, and they must be there to help steady the line and keep up the record of the Princess Patricias.

So they deliberately and freely went back, and went to their deaths. Do you mean to tell me that the people of Canada, recognizing the heroism and devotion of such men will not provide the men and reinforcements needed? It is incredible if they know the facts. Our men over there are prepared to fight and ready if need be to die—but when the flag falls from their hands who will take it on unless we send reinforcements? Are these reinforcements really needed? Let me tell you something not generally known. At scarcely any time during the past summer did we have sufficient men in Great Britain who had completed their training to provide the necessary reinforcements at the front.

Our men were awaiting a Fourth Division to relieve the First Division and give them a much needed rest, for they had had no rest period since they first started in this struggle. But while the coming of this Fourth Division was delayed because there were not enough troops for them, they had to



be broken up for reinforcements. Even that did not provide enough men, and we had to send men to the front who had not yet completed their training when they went over. And, unless we take it in time now and provide the necessary new men and get them in process of training we shall next summer duplicate this summer's conditions. We have the men over there now. They were sending them over by the thousand during the last two months, but the reinforcements were not there when they were most urgently needed.

What has happened to our gallant First Division? When the Fourth Division went over they were so badly needed that this gallant First, which had borne the brunt of the day ever since they first went into the trenches, got their vacation and rest by marching to the Somme, facing death and danger there, and adding additional glory to their fame and Canada's.

And how those men have fought—the men of the 13th., 22nd., 42nd., 73rd.! This last week I have received letters from officers and men at the front, and one of our Ontario officers telling of a Montreal battalion, and I single it out because it so happens he deals with it, said: "I would like to tell you of what the 22nd. did at Courcellette. Officially, I can add nothing to the facts. My Company relieved them on the 17th. of September, and I saw what they did. No troops, not even the Guards, could have done better." If the Province of Quebec has been at times slow in recruiting, the heroism of Tremblay and his men will atone for a great deal. He had two officers besides himself and 60 men left in his battalion, but I believe that since then a good many other men have turned up who were missing at that time.

My officer friend who spoke to me about it was himself in the advance the next day, and was severely wounded by machine gun fire through the body, and later he tells with appreciation of Tremblay's having come to see him. Those soldiers know neither race nor creed, they are simply fighting side by side to overcome a common foe. The last man who spoke to me as I left the Canadian front was the chauffeur, Bouillon, a French Canadian, and when he bade me goodbye he said: "When you go back to Canada will you tell the boys to come out and help us? Tell them not to be afraid. It is

just like baseball, only instead of catching the ball you dodge the shells, and you soon get used to that."

Knowing the record of the British Canadians, and the French Canadian regiments from this Province, is it believable that this Province, any more than our own Ontario, will let these regiments fall out of the lines for lack of reinforcements? They have added imperishable glory to both Quebec and Ontario, and I feel sure that we shall not let the standards fall for want of men. When I spoke to Mr. Asquith of what had been achieved by the British Army in this struggle, he said: "I was never more convinced than now that we did the right thing, and I am absolutely convinced of ultimate victory. But Great Britain could not have done what she has done but for the support of the Dominions."

Our spontaneous co-operation stirred the heart of the Motherland, as it stirred the heart of France, and strengthened their resolution and nerved their will and increased their power. And if final victory is to be achieved in this struggle it will only be by the Dominions standing squarely and heartily by the Motherland and seeing her through.

Let me add this one word. A distinguished Japanese officer, commissioned by his government to visit the allied powers and study on behalf of his government particularly their naval forces and operation, said to me—and these Japanese officers are particularly skilful and shrewd observers—"The two revelations of this war are, first the spirit of France, her marvellous unity, courage, patience, resolution and invincible determination to achieve victory." and what was the second? It was "the spontaneous support of the Motherland by her Dominions in all parts of the world."

We live too near the events of our own time to appreciate their mighty significance. But our standing by the Motherland was not only notice to Great Britain, but notice to all the world from the new nations that had arisen in the west, in the east, and in the south, "In this great day of Armageddon, when Great Britain is fighting to the death for justice and liberty, we all stand together."

That is one of the great moving compelling events of history, and even though we may not yet appreciate its full significance the other nations of the world do. God grant



that, after the sacrifices made by the noble men from your city and your province and from our city and our province, who have laid down their lives to preserve this liberty and this freedom for us and for the strength of our Empire, we utterly resolve that that unity so gloriously manifested shall be maintained through all the days that lie before us.





(November 13th, 1916)

## BACK FROM FRANCE

---

By MISS KATHLEEN BURKE

---

I come here as one of eight hundred girls of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, and particularly to speak of a recent journey to France, when I had the privilege of visiting Verdun. I have not come to speak to you particularly of Serbia, of which we are almost part and parcel.

I will first tell you something of our work. At first we equipped two hospitals for the French and similar hospitals for Belgium and Serbia. Originally two units remained behind after the great retreat, but now they have re-formed into two large hospitals working for the Serbians. One is known as the American Unit, because the whole funds for its equipment and support were subscribed here in America. The second unit is with the Serbian Army in Russia. It may seem like a comic opera army unit, but it is no such thing. The world should be proud of what the gallant Serbian army is doing. Seeing their children massacred and their women in flight, seventeen thousand of them escaped to Roumania. In their defeat and despair it might have been easy for them to have laid down their arms. But they did not hesitate one moment. They crossed to Russia, and that corps of seventeen thousand gallant Serbians is now fighting side by side with the Russian army. It is for them the Scottish women have gone with the second hospital unit.

I am over here pleading for this small people, who were already suffering in the cause of Christianity when Columbus crossed to America. They were ever slaves of the Turks, without hope of freedom; yet their spirit was not broken, and they made ballads which were handed down from generation to generation, promising that one day they would be

free from Turkish oppression. "For Cross and for Freedom" was their motto—they were never for their own interests. Is it surprising that they are fighting so nobly now for freedom? Is it surprising that we women are so proud and happy to be able to render them service? They are fighting so that a whole people could enter into its ideals of freedom and sublime patriotism. So once more we women have gone to serve Serbia.

Last year I told you about the taking of the Serbians to Corsica, where we have now six thousand refugees. I could not tell you about the girls who remained behind. Each of them was a picked and plucky British girl, full of grit. We had no fear for them, and knew that somehow they would fight their way through and manage to continue their good work even in face of the most fearful odds and difficulties. We had no fear for them, and our confidence was justified.

Dr. Elsie Inglis faced the German General and told him what she thought of him and his ancestors and the whole German people when the Germans illegally took our hospital stores—and she got our stores back. And not only did she get our own stores back but everything else she needed from the German stores. She was perfectly capable of taking care of herself.

Then there was Dr. Alice Hutchison, who wrapped herself in the Union Jack as an undergarment, and, when she was finally released and had crossed the Swiss border waved it in the face of the enemy. But it is not so much of their pluck I wish to speak to you to-day—you all know of that.

I want to tell you of their usefulness. It is for that I stand before you to-day. During the great retreat the hospitals retreated inch by inch with the Serbian army, and made dressing stations at every town of old workshops and similar buildings. In one old workshop which they converted into a dressing station they passed through 5,000 men in one week.

The soldiers poured into the city and simply choked the place up. They came in rags, starving and wounded. They were so desperately hungry that when they saw a wagon loaded with rice going by they would follow it and pick up the grains that fell into the mud, flinging themselves into the mire to get the precious morsels of dry food. Our girls could not



even feed them—they could not get enough to feed themselves, and had to find something to help them back to their native land. Then there were the desperately wounded and sick men who must needs die, and on the top floor the girls established a temporary hospital, in a loft with shelves all round it. The girls fixed up the shelves as best they could, and put these men on them, and the doctors with lanterns tended 300 men, while the girls fought against death for them.

The second unit had another work, to care for the women and children, the refugees who were coming in by hundreds. They got a large building and then begged anything that could possibly be burned to warm the shivering refugees. And to add to the general misery, the Germans started to bombard the town while the riff-raff, as they always do, started to loot. The administrator saw a man running away with a roll of cloth he had stolen. She ran after him with revolver in hand, and forced him to come back, made him give up the bolt of cloth and take her to the store where he had stolen it. Six times they went to it and each time they got a roll of cloth. Then the tailoring started, making primitive clothing for the Serbian refugees. It sounds little enough in the telling, but I wonder how many of those women, when they felt the warmth coming back to their babes, will forget what our girls did for them.

Yet another part of our work, perhaps nearer and dearer, is in France, the France of all the world, the France who has taken as her motto "*Jusqu'à bout*." Not to the bitter end, because there is no bitterness, but with a grim determination to carry on until freedom is established. Her motto used to be "*They shall not pass*" as Germans thundered their guns month after month at Verdun. But now they have changed the tense. It is no longer "*They shall not pass*"—their motto now is "*We shall pass*."

There are some things that can never be written or said. One of these is the spirit of France. It is a mystery which baffles the whole world. No words of mine could depict the courage, brighter than patriotism, more splendid than martyrdom, that burns like a living flame in the hearts of the French soldiers to-day. They accept everything calmly with the simple idea that they can live but one life and, when called upon, they can die but one death.

We cannot quite explain such feelings and ideals—it takes the wisdom of children to do that. I remember standing at a railway station in France where all was disorder, with wagon loads of wounded coming in and everybody rushing about and crying out and shouting. There I saw three small French children. They had a piece of chalk, and were writing on the wagons just three words, "*J'aime la France.*" That is the spirit of the French to-day, the note of patriotism, the love of the motherland which enables everyone of them to carry on through all the bitterness of war.

Is it any wonder that I consider it the greatest honor of my life that the French Government sent me officially to that great beleaguered citadel of Verdun? I wish to-day for a while to take you to Verdun in the spirit of that great philosopher, the French soldier. Each soldier has the same love of his mother country, whether mobilized or not.

They have a sort of litany of philosophy which runs like this: "Either we are mobilized or we are not; if we are not, why worry? If we are, two things are certain, either we are at the front or we are behind the front; if we are behind, why worry? If we are at the front, two things are certain, either we are in danger or we are not; if we are not in danger, why worry? If we are in danger, two things are certain, either we are wounded or we are not wounded; if we are not wounded, why worry? If we are wounded, we are either wounded seriously or slightly; if slightly, why worry? If seriously, two things are certain, either we die or we recover; if we recover, why worry? And if we die we cannot worry!"

First, I was taken to the great German camp prison, where there were over 3,000 German prisoners, with the inevitable German band. I heard there tale after tale of the capture of German prisoners, who either wandered over, very hungry, or were captured by the French.

Then I must tell you about the cooks of France. The cook is the most important man in the French army. He has to provide the army with food, and see that the men in the trenches are properly fed, with at least one good warm meal a day. These cooks are also the bravest of men, as well as the most ingenious, and they see that the food gets to the soldiers, no matter what is going on. I was told of one occa-



sion when the commanding officer sent back word that the cooks must not bring the food forward to the men in the trenches because it was too dangerous, the firing being so heavy. The chief cook sent back word to the officer, "My compliments to the officer, but it is kidneys, and they cannot wait."

On another occasion a party of cooks was surprised by a German patrol. The cooks promptly armed themselves with pots and pans, and, dashing up, called upon the patrol to surrender. The Germans thought they had been ambushed and surrendered. Out stepped the head cook and took away their rifles, one by one. By the time he had disarmed them the Germans saw that they had been trapped by a ruse, but they had to give in, and the cooks proudly marched back twenty German prisoners, guarding them with their own rifles.

At Mailly I saw the Russian troops, who are perhaps only equalled as infantry by our own kilties. There were thousands of them, with many wounded, and even Russian nurses to care for them. They had the great 460 centimetre guns of France with them. Each of these had its own name. One was Alsace, another Lorraine, and, with their ever-ready wit, another gun was called Mosquito, because it stung so.

In one small village there was a statue of a saint to which the people used to go on pilgrimages. It was in the hands of the Germans for a time. When the Germans came to the church the officer in charge noticed a small gold mouse at the foot of the statue, and asked what it was there for. The sacristan replied it had been placed there in honor of an occasion when the good saint had driven away a plague of rats and mice. The officer said the people were wrapped in superstition. The sacristan replied that the people did not quite believe the story now, even if they had done so long ago—if they had believed the story they would have put a golden German at the foot of the saint.

On the road another example of the spirit of the soldiers was encountered. On the road were five officers sleeping while their machine was being repaired. The man fixing it said the chauffeur had been unable to repair it, and he had undertaken the job. "But," said he, "it requires patience. You must remember that before the war I was a lion tamer."

There was a terrible white dust on the road to Verdun, which was almost as painful as the sun glare on the snow on the Alps, due to the constant running of automobiles and cars of all kinds. There are 15,000 automobiles serving Verdun, one passing on the road every twelve seconds, so you can appreciate the condition of the road.

They never use the same road two days running, but go in one way and out another. Going in the dust was so painful you had to wipe it off your eyelids, and it was impossible to wear a mask.

Finally, I arrived in the presence of Pétain, the general who held Verdun for France throughout all those bitter months. First, he was told to hold the place for fifteen days. Then came the message: "Hold Verdun for a month," then six weeks. Finally, Joffre said, "Hold it for ever," and he held it for France, and told me so. He is called "Prince Pétain" by the French soldiers, because of his courteous manner. One day he met a poilu who had been on leave. "When did you come back?" asked the General. "To-day," said the soldier.

"And did you leave your family well?"

"Yes, mon général."

"And what did your wife tell you when you came back, to fight well for France?"

"No."

"Well, what did she tell you?"

"Mon Général, if I must tell you, she told me to kiss General Pétain for her for holding Verdun."

And the General replied, "Well, don't you always do what your wife tells you—what are you waiting for?"

Under a terrific battle we had lunch, and as we sat in the underground chamber, with the roar of cannon and shock of battle all around, he talked of everything but the war.

He said, "You know, Mademoiselle, before the war I always looked upon women as those beings who inspired the most beautiful ideals in men and then prevented them from carrying them out. But I have changed my opinion, and now I know that women are the greatest citizens of the world."

Nivelle told us not to wait, but to go straight on into the citadel as there was a lull in the bombardment. So we entered that stricken city, held for France only by the indomitable



spirit of her sons—a terribly scourged and battered city, but the proudest jewel of France, and a shining example to the world of human courage and endurance, and what human power can accomplish when it says resolutely, "I will."

The people there were going about in seeming perfect indifference to the death at every corner. I could tell you tales of the horrors in the trenches, but I would rather tell you of the agricultural competition for the finest sweet peas grown in the trenches.

One officer hailed me as I was going to the trenches, and we had a chat. He said, "Yes, it is monotonous in the trenches, but it might be worse, so much worse. This is the time of the year when in the ordinary way I should be at the seaside with my mother-in-law."

The Frenchman is still as gallant and charming as ever. In another trench a man called me to go and listen to him. He belonged to a wonderful company. If the General told them to take any trench nothing could stop them—they did whatever he told them.

I said, "You must be proud of your company."

He replied, "Yes, I am happy of my company but," and he took off his helmet and bowed, "I am far happier of yours, Mademoiselle."

It is extraordinary the ingenuity the soldiers display. Nothing there is wasted. On one occasion a man in one of the trenches received a package that had gone astray and found there was nothing in it but a lot of knitting needles and night caps. He proved to be a regular Gaspard, and used the knitting needles as hangers for clothes, while they used the night caps for coffee strainers.

There is not a single house at Verdun which is not in some way destroyed. As we went on the Germans tried to shell our car, and one shell burst about 200 yards away, quite too close to be pleasant.

The present city of Verdun is an underground city, and there the men live fifteen days at a time, all underground, with rooms partitioned off, and a regular subterranean city—and a soldier whose room I saw had Irish lace on his pillow and Eau de Cologne on his shelf.

We met General Du Bois, the General in command, a

very portly and dignified general. Just before the retreat he was in a small village and saw his men running back. He called for a camp stool and sat down, and as they ran, and he called, "Mes enfants, where are you running? Look at me, have I got a figure that can retreat?" And the men, steadied by his example, rallied and stayed with him.

It would take the pencil of a Rembrandt to depict that scene underground. They tried everything they could think of to keep us there.

There was such a heavy bombardment as we went away that voices could not be heard at all. Then we went to meet Nivelles, one of the shy generals of France. He said: "Mademoiselle, I have not seen a girl for fifteen months."

From Nivelles we went on until we called upon that greatest of all French generals, the grand old Father of the Army, Joffre.

Shortly after the beginning of the war four young aviators had been chosen to go forward and die for France. Everyone knew that none of them could hope to return from the mission they were sent on. They stood before General Joffre to say good-bye and take their last orders, and they stood before him stiffly at attention. Joffre said to them, "My children, when did sons ever go away without kissing their father good-bye?" That was the kind of action that earned for him the sobriquet of Father of the French Army.

He knew I was coming to America, and told me not to speak of him as Generalissimo of the French Army, but as servant of the French Republic, no greater in patriotism than one of those smallest soldiers of France. He spoke to me of our troops and I complimented him on his. He told us: "The Germans expected great things from your troops, but they are stupefied by the troops before them," and then he showed me a telegram saying that the Canadians and Australians had taken Pozières, and he said: "These Canadians are of the real bull dog breed, when once they get hold of a thing they hold on to it."

Then we passed the desolate city of Rheims, with its terrible shattered cathedral, the glass dangling to the wind from those wonderful windows. There was a standard of France where the statue of Joan d'Arc once stood, and as we stood a



shaft of light shone through upon the tricolor. It seemed emblematic of the new spirit of France.

There was the blue—blue as the sky, a sky signifying the patience of the people of France, but a sky sometimes stormy and dark, as the people of France to-day had swept up to the defence of their native land.

And then there was the white. I thought of the white faces of so many of France's bravest sons who lay looking to the sky, listening for the feet of their comrades going to victory—and then those white faces will smile.

And then the red of France—one might depict it as the red glare at the mouths of cannons or the flame of burning villages, but I prefer to think of it as the red blush of pride that lights up the face of France as she realizes the glory that is hers, as of the world weeping before the splendor of her sons—that is what one feels standing before the desecrated and broken cathedral of Rheims.

I stand before you to speak of life in the battle fields and stricken countries of Europe. I have spoken of what the men have done. I would speak of what the women can do, of our hospital at Royaumont, increased to 350 and now to 450 beds, with the Canada ward, built from the funds given me when I was last here. You may well be proud of that Canada Ward. It is worthy of Canada and her heroes and of the heroes of France. Come with me and see it as we did.

Previously, the wounded were brought in in bullock wagons, in a hopeless position. Now they are brought in in quick motor ambulances and given every chance for their lives. Then you should see the men in the hospitals, the orderly procedure, the splendidly equipped hospital, and everything done scientifically and well.

As soon as the men arrive, a bacteriologist takes a smear of their blood, and within twenty minutes a report is before the head surgeon, and if there is any sign of gas gangrene the man is taken straight to the cleansing and operating room. That is what such a hospital means for the wounded men.

I know I am to-day asking for funds from people who have already done so much. But we said when the war started that we would do our bit, and that bit is growing all the time. There is always that desire of humanity to do service wherever

and whenever it can, and it is a privilege to live in these days, and to see the heroism of the men and women and the young people everywhere. It is a privilege to learn the real generosity of our own hearts. Before this war we none of us knew how generous we really were. Now we all realize it, and give and give, more and more. And, knowing the generosity of you men's hearts, the generosity of the women and girls too, I plead with you, not as a nurse, not as a doctor, but as a stoker, asking for fuel for that fire of humanity our girls have lit, where suffering women and children find their hope and encouragement, and the men of Serbia and France are literally finding life.



(November 20, 1916)

## CANADA'S PROBLEMS DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

---

By THE HON. ROBERT ROGERS

---

WHEN I received the kind invitation of your President asking me to address the members of your Club, I at once put to myself the question, "Upon what topic can I touch, in attempting to interest the busy men of Montreal?" And, always, my mind came back to the problem of our share and our part in the great war struggle, which brings us, day by day, face to face with new responsibilities, the like of which we have never before been called upon to meet. And then the great problems which will confront us at the coming of peace—surely it is the plain duty of every good citizen of our common country to see to it that we are so prepared when that day comes, that our young nation with such great possibilities is not going to be left in the race. If we are not going to allow other nations to beat us in the discovery of how best to profit by the novel conditions that will follow peace, we must always bear in mind that we shall have to compete, not alone with belligerent nations, but with neutral nations, who are not now absorbed, as we are, in the giant task of assisting in the winning of this great war.

There are a lot of theories as to what your public representatives at Ottawa are paid for. Some of them are not always flattering to us. Some of them, again, expect too much, perhaps, of poor human nature. But, the fact is that we do pay a small army of men to assemble at Ottawa and do something for the nation. Out of that small army a much smaller company is chosen to give all their time and their talents to the job. We call that company the Cabinet. The

Cabinet has, of course, a lot of routine work to do, a great deal of work in carrying out the details of the various policies and projects decided upon by Parliament. I do not think that you, as good business men, would continue to employ and pay Cabinet Ministers for their worth as routine workers. Then, what else is it you expect of them? Is it not that service which we call "Statesmanship" and which consists very largely in looking ahead? As in all big businesses it actually pays to pay some men to think, in the guidance of great enterprises, whether private or national, it is the most vital and important part, "looking ahead." That is the first business of the public man. We all know that, in times of peace, we did not look ahead sufficiently into this war business. The result is that we lost enormously in wealth and time and in priceless human life. I shall not labour this point, for it is an old one now. Let us, however, remind you of that which you all well know that, at the sudden outbreak of war, we were called upon to meet an emergency, the like of which no Government has been called upon to meet in Canada before. There was no precedent to guide us, because the Empire had never, in all its history, had such conditions forced upon it. The Government, however, took hold of the matter determinedly and fearlessly. They recognized that Canada was "British to the core" and they believed then that the Canadian people would endorse their action in taking every step necessary to aid in the protection of that Empire and in securing victory for her Flag.

It is true that we in Canada have not yet done our entire share toward the winning of this war. Up to the present, we have only honoured our pledge to the Mother Land to the extent of some three-fifths of its face value. We must and we will make good the remaining two-fifths. We cannot repudiate. We must not rank as a defaulting Dominion. We have appointed a National Service Commission with full authority to register the man-power of Canada. With this inventory we shall soon reach the ideal state where there can be no slackers, because, when every male citizen is accounted for, none can escape the pressure of public opinion calling upon each one who is not enlisted to bear his proper share of the national burden in performing the task which he is best fitted



to fill, either by fighting or making munitions or contributing in some recognized way.

When we have done all this, then we should turn our attention to making certain that Canada will continue to grow after the war and will become, in the near future, a great and populous British community.

Every wise nation in the world is to-day looking ahead and laying its plans for peace. The British Government is doing it, France is doing it, Italy is doing it, the American Government is doing it, Germany is doing it. The business communities of all these nations are engrossed in it as far as they can be and still not relax their efforts to win the war. If we do not follow their example, we shall infallibly be left behind in the race. And, speaking of this question of preparedness for "Business better than usual" after the war, I do not lose sight for a moment of the fundamental fact that it makes all the difference in the world how completely we win the war. Peace on any such terms as Germany would consider to-day would be a German victory—would lay upon us the burden of feverishly arming for the certain assault upon our national existence which would speedily follow, and we should have little time for anything else. If we do not win this war, and win it with a smash, through which Germany's unwise and unholy ambitions will be thoroughly humbled, by stripping them of their military power that makes them a menace to their neighbours and to the civilization of the world—if we do not do these things—then the plans for the development of Canada's future will not be made in Montreal or in Ottawa, but in the Capital of some foreign nation. There is no use deluding ourselves on this point. A great, fat, tempting prize like Canada would never be allowed to escape if it were not defended by the full power of a victorious British Empire. We must win, and the question that I put to the business men in the metropolis of our Dominion is, shall we be ready for the pressing and perplexing problems that will confront us when our guns cease to speak—when our brave lads who survive the frightful struggle will come back to us, demanding opportunities to take a decent and worthy place in the life of the Nation?

Unless the greatest caution is exercised, there is bound

to be vast industrial trouble. Much as we regret it, it is almost inevitable and will be world-wide. Therefore, the great and pressing question for us in Canada is how to fortify our country as surely as possible against its effects. The munition workers will be suddenly thrown among the great unemployed, immigrants fleeing from their war-worn Europe will seek our shores. We shall find ourselves all in a day with the mightiest problem of unemployment on our hands that this young nation has ever faced, and, if that problem finds us unprepared, unparalleled disaster may easily overtake us.

This is where statesmanship should speak and act. We must look ahead and provide against all this. The Federal Government must give the lead, but every other organisation, Provincial and Municipal Governments, Boards of Trade and Canadian Clubs, Railways, Bankers and Manufacturers must actively and intelligently co-operate. Moreover, such united action would go a long way in solving most of the problems which now confront us, such, for instance, as how to make our Transcontinental railways paying propositions, how to enable our industries to find new tasks when war orders stop, how to adjust our mercantile system to the changed conditions.

Some people are all the time worrying about finding new markets in foreign lands for our producers. My proposal is to bring the new markets home to our producers. Why go abroad for consumers, when you can bring the consumers home with you? The best possible consumer for our goods is the man who comes here to live and work and build up the nation.

Despite the splendid spirit of enterprise on the part of our manufacturers in Canada, much remains to be done by them, or rather, with them; for a great responsibility falls on the Government of Canada, in that the Government has had much to do with diverting our industrial machinery from Peace to War. It must be prepared to take, at least, an equal part in swinging it successfully back again from War to Peace, if we are to take full advantage of our great possibilities for industrial development, if we are to achieve the further conquest of our own markets, as well as the further extension of our export trade. We must all have courage, a patriotic courage.



The very utmost must be done to see that our soldiers are settled in a way to make them independent. There must be no ingratitude to the men who have gone down into the Valley of Death, there to safeguard for us our liberty and our freedom under the flag of our country. We must have no crippled soldiers standing on street corners asking for alms. We must leave none of our disabled fighters uncared for. The men of our army must be our first consideration. Our returning soldiers will have many of the characteristics, and far more than the claims, of immigrants, because they will be coming back with a new outlook, new aspirations and new ideas. The Government will prepare to the utmost of its ability to get our soldiers settled comfortably on the land or in situations of the soldiers' choice, and to do this we must know the disposition and the condition of mind and body of every man before he sets sail from England. We must know where we can place him to suit his disposition and his capacity. In a like manner, every other immigrant must be known before he embarks, as to his aims, his experience, his capacity, and we must, by an elaborate census, know just where to direct him and how best to help him to a comfortable settlement. In this feature, suitableness must be the key-note of all our preparations.

This is Canada's great work for the future, and, in carrying it out, there must be no thought of playing partisan politics. We must devote ourselves to patriotism, for there is impending an epoch in our lives, an epoch in the history of Canada, that will have results of huge proportions for all time, and there is no place for partisanship. As the great war will be the crowning event of all future histories of the world, so the strides Canada makes within three years after peace is declared will mark the emergence of this country into that of a great nation. This is especially true in the matter of immigration.

This year men in khaki helped to harvest the grain crop of Western Canada. Gentlemen, that is a significant fact. It emphasizes the truth that the conserving and increasing of the grain yield to Canada is a military measure for the protection of the British Empire. We sent soldiers to run reapers instead of machine guns and no one imagined they

were departing from their path of duty. But remember, if that wheat had not been there it could not have been harvested. We must plant before we can reap and we must put men on the soil before we can plant.

The wheat-grower is the foundation for a broad and high pyramid of population. He is the ultimate consumer of what most of the rest of you produce. If we can fill the West with wheat-growers, with grain-growers, every man in a factory, every man in a shop, every man in an office, every man on a railway, will be able to get better pay and higher profits.

Three years after the war closes will see the future of Canada marked out for a long time. That period will set the limits of our prosperity. Shall we get the first full tide of emigration that will flee a shattered and burdened Continent; or will it pass us by? Will it go to our rivals—the United States, the Argentine Republic, every competing country with lots of land and natural resources and too few hands and brains to develop them?

As Europe recovers, the migration of her people will cease. Increasing activity will keep them at home. New opportunities will open for them under familiar skies. They will not look to Canada or the United States—they will stay by their beloved firesides. It will be the first period after the war when nations in need of selected immigrants must be ready to get the most intelligent, the most discriminating, the most enquiring.

And what shall we have for enquiring emigrants? That depends entirely upon what we do before peace comes. We ought to have answers for anything they can possibly ask. We ought to catalogue our opportunities, card-index our resources, collect and systematize all available information as to what a new-comer in Canada can best do. When these new-comers write home after their arrival here, they should be able to tell of a warm and hearty and helpful welcome,—of well-posted officials who met them at Halifax, St. John, Quebec and Montreal, with full and reliable details as to what this part of the country had to offer, and what that part could show. They ought to be able to write home: "Get on the ship. Canada will do the rest."

The period of re-adjustment to which I have referred



will have its trials for all of us. It may be accompanied by temporary dullness of trade, for which we must prepare. Britain knows the re-adjustment period will be one of serious trial for the people of the United Kingdom, and the men of Britain who are not fighting are planning for that re-adjustment. The same duty now faces every Canadian. Let us not be unprepared for peace while 500,000 of the bravest and best of our sons are fighting to secure it. Our other seven millions, or such of them as are of adult age, must set to work to think out the problems and to assist the Government as to their solution.

At such a period nothing will serve us better than the practice of thrift and economy where thrift and economy are needed. Amongst certain countries of the Old World, thrift is a passion. It takes the place of riches and is better for the people. In Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, nothing goes to waste. The women know how to economise and they practise economy as a fine art. The people of these little countries hate waste and you will find no happier people in all the world. The women practise thrift in their clothing by buying sensibly and mending seasonably, and they conserve their food so that everything counts. A farmer in Holland will take more out of five acres than multitudes in other countries take out of a hundred acres.

To the poor man, in tens of thousands of instances, thrift means the difference between making both ends meet and leaving a gap between income and expenditure. The man who can make both ends meet and overlap ever so little is a rich man. He is rich in that he is independent, whereas a man who is running behind is a slave. I am not a rich man but I will give an annual subscription to every body of men and women who will organise the inculcation of thrift and economy. Those who are amassing money should spend it freely, even to extravagance in living, for the circulation of money is the basis of trade. Those who cannot amass should practise frugality, thrift and economy. They will have a better foundation for happiness than the man who is engrossed in riches.

The war now raging must be won. If we could not win it, it would be better to throw up our hands now, but the

Allies know they can win it. If we, in Canada, do not rise to a full appreciation of the opportunity, we shall all our lives feel that it was lost because we failed at the critical time. If we do rise in our might and furnish the last part of our promise, then when the world is applauding the Allies on their victory—when the cheers of the British people and all decent people are ringing throughout the world, we shall all carry our heads erect with minds content that Canada, in the day of trial, in fulfilling her promise to the Motherland, helped mightily to win the day that secured our destiny.



(November 22, 1916)

## KITCHENER'S ARMY

---

By CAPTAIN IAN HAY BEITH

---

I NEED not say how very proud I am to be your guest here to-day, or how very grateful I feel for your kind invitation and reception. I feel extremely glad to find myself once more, after a considerable period, under the Union Jack. Not that I have any fault to find with the treatment I have received under the Stars and Stripes; for I received nothing but kindness and hospitality on every side on the other side the border, and have come here with one impression firmly fixed in my mind, and that is that every true and genuine American—and I have met hundreds and thousands of them during the past few months—is pro-Ally through and through.

My little excursion into Canada is in the nature of a holiday. I was sent to the States two months ago by the Foreign Office with instructions to endeavor to describe to our friends in the States what was actually going on in the trenches on the western front, and also to try by methods of peaceful persuasion to enlist their sympathies on our side, or, at any rate to try and counteract the propaganda of our friends the Bosches. Naturally, that would be superfluous work in Canada, so I am really here on a holiday. I must say to you that Canada's contribution to our cause, our crusade, our holy war, for it is nothing else, will never be forgotten throughout the British Empire so long as it stands for anything.

Why I was selected for this extremely pleasant task has always been rather a mystery to me. Possibly my one qualification was that I was fortunate enough during eleven months at the front to escape all the missiles of the enemy. And if you can perform that feat of agility you can consider yourself

first something of a veteran in the present war, and secondly consider that you have got some sort of continued consecutive idea of the war.

The 9th Division, the 1st Scottish Division, with which I served from the first, was the first of the Kitchener Divisions to cross the water. At the time of our arrival the first period of the war was coming to an end—in fact our arrival practically brought about the end of that first period. The original expeditionary force, our little army, helped by such units of the Empire as could be got together, were completing their heroic and historic task of holding on against overwhelming numbers all through that terrible winter of 1914. Now the winter was over, the spring had come, and with it came hundreds of thousands of new men to stiffen that perilously thin line, and the tide of invasion was stemmed and held up once and for all.

But we could not well begin to roll it back. We had the men, but not the munitions or big guns, and all we could do was hold the line, harass the enemy and keep him constantly on the alert; while at home the forges were running, the machinery rushing, men, and especially women, working night and day in the munitions factories which were springing up all over the country—there are now something like 5,000 of them producing munitions—until now we can say as an Empire “We are ready. Full speed ahead.”

We had to wait a very long time for that message. It never came last year. All that year the line was held grimly and resolutely by men who a year before had been farmers, clerks, mechanics, carpenters, with no knowledge of war or great military traditions to uphold them, and very little in the way of big guns behind them. If our artillery sent a shell into the enemy a whole salvo would come back.

Our munitions were very limited. They had to be divided carefully, and we had to save it up for a “big strafe” once a week, while between times we sat at the bottom of the trenches and hoped for better days. It was not altogether an exhilarating period, because things were not going well on the eastern front either. Periodically, we would hear cheers from the trenches opposite, and then a big notice board would come up in more or less good English saying that Warsaw or Lem-



berg or some other big place had fallen. In fact both sides were extremely obliging and hopeful in furnishing each other with information of this kind.

While on this subject I may mention that a notice board was sent up last spring, during the disturbances in Dublin. This notice board went up in the German lines with suspicious punctuality. The board was put up opposite the trenches occupied by the Irish Division, with the inscription—"Irishmen, the English are shooting down your wives and children in the streets of Dublin." I am afraid the effect achieved by our enterprising friends opposite hardly reached their expectations. All the Irish Division did was to ask permission from the General to attend to the matter. The permission was given, and they attacked that trench and captured it, and got the notice board, which they now hold as a trophy.

Such was the state of affairs last summer. The time was not altogether lost. We were learning and finding our feet, and assiduously acquiring the priceless art of playing a poor hand well. But matters gradually improved. Soon it became no longer necessary to save up ammunition for special occasions. Gradually we got better and better until we were able to hold our own.

I shall never forget the so-called Christmas attack against Ypres last year. We were stationed at the great salient of Ypres, or "Wipers" as the Tommies call it. It was evident that the enemy was going to make one more great effort to capture that place which he had tried so long to get. The bombardment never ceased, and became intensive for three days and nights, and we reckoned we were in for an elaborate attack very shortly.

On the morning of December 20th, our expectations were realized, because the bombardment ceased with that uncanny suddenness that precedes an infantry attack. We knew the cessation would be for only three minutes, while the fuses were lengthened and sights raised, for a curtain of fire to protect the attack. At the same time poisonous gas was liberated in such portions of the German lines as were favored by the wind.

We got on our gas helmets and waited grimly for them, when suddenly our artillery, which hitherto had not said very

much, and had never made a very definite reply, only a few batteries replying at once—suddenly our artillery spoke out. Six hundred guns we had back there, and the Germans knew nothing about it. In three minutes our guns had fired 50 rounds rapid, so that within three minutes 30,000 shells had burst on and around the enemy parapet.

That great Christmas attack was never delivered. Very few of the enemy got over the parapet at all, and those who did were got by our machine guns. That was the first indication to the enemy that at last the balance of munitions and big guns and war supplies had gone with a bump to the side of law and order.

I spent three months last year in the Ypres salient, and we stayed side by side in the trenches of that great and dangerous salient with the troops of Canada—and I hope I may never be in worse company in a tight place. Our own regiment was on the extreme right of our Division, and on the left it touched the Canadians. The brigade of which I saw most was a fine brigade, commanded by that truly gallant soldier and gentleman, General Victor Williams, who, by the worst fortune in the world, and through no fault of his own, is now wounded and a prisoner of war.

He was in the front trenches inspecting the troops, when a sudden bombardment of the trench came. He was seriously wounded in that death trap, Sanctuary Wood, which I know only too well. It was rushed by the enemy and captured, but subsequently recaptured. But before our men could recapture it Gen. Williams was taken prisoner by the enemy. I believe he is now in good hands, and in a fair way to recovery.

We were alongside the Canadians and had numerous opportunities of mingling with them and exchanging views on various topics of interest. They were splendid soldiers, keen as mustard, and I only met one man amongst them all who was dissatisfied with his lot. He was in a Highland battalion, and confided to me one night in a trench that he did not like wearing the kilt. Everything else, he said, was all right, but he did not like the kilt. "It is all right," he said, "for you, because you are used to it, but, between ourselves, I am going to try and get exchanged into a pants battalion."

The second period of the war came to a very encouraging



end, and the third period began. I am very often asked, especially in the United States, where they like definite and precise information, when the war is going to end.

I always make the same reply. I say "I cannot tell you when the war is going to end, but I can tell you when it began." They reply, "Thanks, we have heard that before, it was on August 4th, 1914." I always say, "No, it began on the 1st of July, 1916." On that date we were ready for the first time after nearly two years of stupendous preparation—a preparation which will become historic—we were ready for the first time for a grand attack.

On that date, in the valley of the Somme, the British and French, shoulder to shoulder, advanced over a front of some 16 miles. That was a critical moment, because those men of ours going over the parapet had to answer a very definite question. It was "Is this new army of ours, which has been raised and trained so quickly, going to prove itself a match for the iron German army, given a fair chance? It is the first time they have had an equal chance, what are they going to do?" Gentlemen, I do not need to tell you the answer our boys gave to that question.

That great ridge which confronted them on the morning of the first of July, ground which the enemy believed to be inaccessible and impregnably fortified—that ridge and those fortresses are now in our hands, with 500 pieces of artillery, 1,000 machine guns, immense amounts of stores, and, up to date, about 84,000 unwounded prisoners.

Beyond that ridge the ground slopes gently for something like 15 miles, which means that now we are getting direct artillery observation, a thing of vital importance. And as our output of munitions will be twice as much at Christmas as it was in July, I think we shall hear a good deal more about this push and that it will be indefinitely continued.

It must be very galling to the enemy, when you come to think of it, and especially those at the top, when they see that great military machine they have been perfecting for 40 years with which to subjugate Europe unable to stand up against the first fair blow it got from an army of amateurs who went into action singing comic songs and playing football. That is what the German hates more than anything else—this heart-

less frivolity of the British. It shocks him. He regards war as the most sacred and serious business of life, every detail sacred, from the emission of poison gas to the sinking of a hospital liner. And then to be beaten by men who regard war as a great game shocks him to the roots of his being.

Such was the opening of the third period of the war, which, please God, will end in the relegation of barbarity and bestiality to the places where they came from, and the restoration after many days of the whole of Belgium and the northern part of France to their rightful owners, to be held by them in peace and prosperity for the rest of time.

I will tell you one or two stories to illustrate the spirit of our men.

Just before the great battle of Loos we were just opposite a very strong fortification known as the Hohenzollern Redoubt, projecting forward from the German lines close to ours. As we were to capture it, it was most important for us to find out what its communication trenches were with the main German lines. We knew they had one communication trench, which we had christened "Little Willie," and we rather suspected another, which we were prepared to call "Big Willie." It was extremely important to find out this, and a young officer of my own regiment suggested to his commanding officer that the simplest way of finding out whether this communication existed would be for him to go over the parapet and have a look—and his plans were made with a certain amount of reasonableness. He said: "We are bombarding them all day long so that they have to keep their heads well down, and if I go while the bombardment is on I may get over all right."

He was allowed to go, and his judgment proved correct. During the bombardment he went over the parapet and over to the Hohenzollern redoubt, and was able to confirm his ideas about the "Big Willie," and was returning all right when he was interrupted by an agency he had overlooked—our own artillery. One of our big shells dropped short and knocked up a big clod of earth which hit him in the neck, and sent him half dazed and very angry back to our trenches. When he had had a cup of tea and had telephoned to our artillery in the rear just what he thought of them he went



back again and completed his investigation and returned with a very valuable report, for which I am glad to say he got the Military Cross.

We were talking of footballs in war. The Northumberland Fusiliers actually did go over at Contalmaison kicking a football ahead of them until they got to the German trenches—and captured them. On the morning of April 1st of this year a British aeroplane went over behind the German trenches and dropped something which fell straight as a die right down on the German headquarters. There was a tremendous panic amongst the German officers, but it seemed a very queer bomb, and as it came closer to the ground it fell very slowly. Finally it hit the earth with a thud, bounded up into the air, came down, and bounced up and down. When finally it was still and looked safe the German officers went to examine it, and found it a British football, with a label painted on it saying: "April Fool. Gott strafe England."

Here is a little piece of aluminum from the first Zeppelin brought down on English soil. It was my good fortune to see that feat accomplished. I was staying at a hotel, on the fifth floor—which is very high up for London, and was thus enabled to see half way across the city. I was aroused about 2.30 that morning by a sound, familiar enough to me, artillery, but unfamiliar to the Londoners. I looked out and the whole sky was absolutely a mass of bursting shrapnel and shells, and a lattice work of search lights, the artificial barrage for defence. And there up above was the Zepp, like a cigar, moving about uncertainly, evidently not knowing what to do. Suddenly the firing died down, and instead of the firing there arose from London from every street and square from hundreds of thousands of people a tremendous cheer, for there in the north that Zepp turned into a red glowing mass and was falling to the earth. It had been brought down by an aero man named Lieut. Robinson.

There was a curious sequel to all this. The people of London, instead of hiding in their cellars according to police regulations, were all on the roofs and squares watching the show, and laboring under the common delusion that the Zepp would be falling down in the next street they started off by thousands in their slippers to have a look at it.

However, it had fallen 12 miles out of London, and by eight o'clock on Sunday morning every country lane and field in Hertfordshire was full of people, very tired, half starved and wholly lost, looking for the Zepp. There were no trains on Sunday, and consequently relief expeditions had to be sent out to bring these misguided patriots home.

One other word. I would like to say that in the United States, where I have been recently there are rumors of the near approach of peace. I do not think it is very difficult to trace those rumors or surmise from which side they started. It is evident they were put into circulation by people who have just begun to realize that it is possible for a nation which wantonly drew the sword to perish by the sword.

Terrible as war is, and terrible above all wars as is this war, I think you will all agree with me when I say that there is only one way to finish this war, and that is to finish it and fix it in such a way that it can never happen again.



(November 27, 1916)

## GOVERNMENT VERSUS PRIVATE MANAGEMENT OF THE RAILWAYS

---

By SAMUEL O. DUNN

---

ONE of the most marked tendencies throughout the world during the last half or three-quarters of a century has been the tendency of governments to intervene more and more in industrial affairs. In no field has this increasing tendency of government to intervene in industrial affairs been more strikingly illustrated than in the railway field. So extensive has the policy of government ownership and management of railways become that it is often represented as having grown to be the dominant policy of the world. This, however, is by no means correct. The mileage of railways owned and managed by private companies is still more than twice as great as that owned and operated by governments. In 1913, the latest year for which we have complete statistics, there were in the world 690,133 miles of railway. Of this, 464,421 miles, or 67 per cent., belonged to private companies, and only 225,712, or 33 per cent., belonged to governments.

It is a fact, however, that North America is the great stronghold of private ownership, and that outside of this continent there is now a greater mileage in the hands of governments than in those of private companies. There are over 305,000 miles of railways in North America, and of this more than 290,000 miles, or over 95 per cent., is privately owned and operated. In all the world outside of North America there are 385,000 miles; and of this, 211,147 miles, or 55 per cent., is owned by governments, while 174,000 miles, or 45 per cent., is owned by private companies. It will be seen, therefore, that the mileage in North America which is privately owned and operated exceeds the total mileage owned by

governments in all the world, while even outside of North America almost one-half the mileage is owned and operated by private companies.

Nor does it give a correct idea to say that government ownership has been adopted by most leading countries. Germany has adopted it, but Great Britain adheres to private ownership. Most of the railways of Austria-Hungary are state-operated, but most of those of France are still in private hands. Most of the railways of Italy and Russia are state-owned, but in the principal country of South America, Argentina, with a mileage greater than that of Italy, and in Canada, with a large and rapidly increasing mileage, private ownership is still greatly preponderant. Japan is committed to government ownership, but in the United States, which alone has a mileage exceeding that of the combined state-owned railways of the world, private management is the sole policy.

Furthermore, even if it were true that all the rest of the world had adopted government ownership, this would be no very forcible argument for adopting it in North America. Military considerations have been very influential in shaping the railway policy of some of the European countries, and especially Germany. The conditions which have made it desirable, or which have been regarded as making it desirable, for some of the governments of Europe to own their railways, so that they can be prepared to use them for military purposes at a moment's notice, do not exist on this continent; and we all hope and believe that they never will. Many of the countries of Europe which have extensively adopted government ownership are monarchies; while, regardless of constitutional forms, Canada as well as the United States is a democracy. It is hardly necessary to add that the economic conditions on this continent are widely different from those in Europe. If we on this continent are going to decide wisely on the question of private versus government ownership, we must get clearly and keep constantly in mind our own peculiar conditions, and then try to determine which policy will produce the better results under those particular conditions.

The question of government versus private ownership has various phases, but there are two whose importance is paramount. One of these is the economic phase. Which



policy will better promote the material welfare of the public—in other words, which will better promote the efficient production and the equitable distribution of wealth? The other phase which is of the first importance is the political phase. Will private ownership or government ownership have the better effects on the government of the country, and especially on that of a country having democratic institutions, such as yours in Canada and ours in the United States?

Let us turn, first, to the question of which policy will more efficiently promote the production of wealth. The transportation of freight by rail, and the transportation of passengers by rail when they are traveling on business, is merely one of the processes of production. If the management of the railways is inefficient and wasteful and, in consequence, the expense incurred in furnishing the service of transportation is excessive, this reduces the efficiency and increases the cost of all the industrial processes carried on in the entire country. This remains true whether the total cost incurred in rendering the service is covered by the rates charged for it, or only part of it is covered by the rates charged, and the other part of it is covered by taxes levied upon the public to pay deficits incurred by the railways. If it actually costs \$10 to move 1,000 tons of freight one mile the burden directly or indirectly imposed upon the industry of the country for the transporting of that 1,000 tons one mile is just the same, whether \$5 of the cost is paid by the taxpayer and \$5 by the shipper, or the entire \$10 is paid by the shipper.

As, in the long run, the entire expense incurred in providing the service of transportation must be borne by the industry of the country, the public welfare demands that, other things being equal, that railway policy shall be adopted which will keep this expense at the lowest practicable minimum. Now, assuming that there are certain unit costs, such as the wages of labor and the prices of materials, which must be met, and a certain standard of service which must be maintained, it is evident that that railway policy will be most conducive to economical management which is adapted to securing the ablest and most energetic administration of the affairs of the railways.

Business costs are always of two classes—return to invested capital and expenses of operation. It is as absolutely

impossible to avoid incurring the one as to avoid incurring the other. If private companies are to be permanently successful in furnishing railway service they must be able to raise capital, and they will not be able to raise capital unless they are able to, and do, pay interest and dividends on it. Likewise, if a government is to provide railway service it must raise capital, and if it is to raise capital it must pay interest on it. The books may be so kept as not to show how much interest actually is paid on the investment, but it will not alter the facts. You might also so keep the books as not to show all the operating expenses, but this would not make the operating expenses any less.

The advocates of government ownership contend that it enables capital for the construction and development of railways to be raised more cheaply, and that it causes their administration to be more efficient than private ownership and management. Governments ordinarily can borrow money cheaper than private companies. But the total return which must be paid on the capital invested in railways does not depend merely on the rate of interest paid. The total return required on the investment in a mile of railway is determined not only by the rate of interest, but also by the amount of capital spent to produce that mile of railway. If a company should have to pay 5 per cent. for capital and a government only 4 per cent., but the company should build a railway for only two-thirds as much as the government would spend, the total interest which the company would have to pay on the investment would be less than the total interest the government would have to pay. Now, whether the cost of building a new railway or of improving an old one shall be high or low will be determined chiefly by whether its affairs are skilfully administered. The same is true of operating expenses.

Probably the most fundamental and important difference between government regulation and government ownership of railways is that under the former public officials exercise merely the authority of supervision and correction, while under the latter they exercise the authority and perform the duty of actual administration. Whether the governments of Canada and the United States under the political conditions which prevail in these countries may be confidently relied



on to develop and support railway administrative organizations which will manage the railways as well and economically as private companies, is open to grave question. One of the greatest difficulties met in securing the skilful administration of government concerns is that of obtaining and retaining efficient managers for them. Governments, and especially democratic governments, will seldom pay as high salaries as private concerns to get men for positions demanding first class ability. Furthermore, in most democratic countries, such as Canada and the United States, the appointments to important offices in the public service are usually determined chiefly by political considerations. There is hardly an officer of a railway or of an industrial corporation on this continent who does not owe his position to his experience and proved ability in his special line of work. There are few high public officials, except in the army, the navy and the courts, who do owe their positions to such qualifications.

The managers of any business, public or private, even though of great ability, cannot administer it with energy and skill unless left free from interference except on business grounds. But are the officers of government railways in democratic countries likely to be as immune from such interference as those of private railways? You have had some experience with government management of railways in Canada, and I do not understand that the higher officers of your state railways always have been appointed solely because of their qualifications or that they have always been left free from political interference. But if the managers of government railways are not to be chosen and retained solely because of their peculiar qualifications for their duties, and are not to be left free from political interference, upon what ground can it be assumed that they will be able to develop and operate the properties so as to keep down the cost of transportation to what it would be under private management?

Political considerations tend to cause lines to be built and improvements to be made where they are not most needed to promote the economic welfare of the country. They cause men to be taken into, retained and advanced in the service largely regardless of their merits. They cause a greater number of men to be employed than are actually needed.

They sometimes cause contracts to be let and purchases to be made which would not be countenanced if business principles alone prevailed. They sometimes cause passenger and freight service to be rendered, not on business principles, but to placate the voters in certain favored communities. These statements are not based merely on surmise. They can be substantiated by evidence afforded by government management of railways in many countries. Nor are those directly charged with the management of the railways to be held entirely responsible. In many cases they have fought courageously and determinedly against such abuses, only to find that their resistance availed but little.

The conclusion necessarily suggested is that, under democratic conditions at least, state railways are less likely to be efficiently and economically developed and operated than private railways. This conclusion is supported by evidence afforded by the operating and financial results of government and private railways throughout the world. There are seventeen countries in the world in which the capitalization, or cost of construction per mile, of the railways exceeds the average of the railways of the United States. In only six of these does private ownership preponderate, while in eleven government ownership preponderates. The cost of construction of the Intercolonial Railway of Canada, the oldest and until recently the largest, government-owned railway on this continent, is officially reported as \$75,000 per mile. This is about the same as the cost of the leading railways of Australia; the state railways of New South Wales cost over \$80,000. The National Transcontinental, which also has been built by the government of Canada, has cost more than the Intercolonial, \$76,700 without equipment. These figures greatly exceed the average capitalization per mile of the private railways of Canada and of the United States. The average net capitalization of the railways of the United States, including all the great systems with their numerous multiple track lines and dense traffic in the populous eastern part of the country, is less than \$67,000 a mile. There are, of course, exceptions, but the general rule throughout the world is that governments invest more capital in railways to handle a given amount of traffic than private companies do.



When we turn to a comparison of the operating expenses that state and private railways incur in proportion to the total traffic which they handle, we find facts of a similar character. The private railways of France handle more traffic in proportion to their operating expenses than do the state railways of that country. The railways of Prussia are the best state-managed railways in the world, and yet the private railways of France handle more traffic in proportion to their operating expenses than do the state railways of Prussia. The private railways of Canada handle more traffic in proportion to their operating expenses than does the Intercolonial. In fact, the private railways of Canada and of the United States handle more traffic in proportion to their operating expenses than any other railways in the world, in spite of the fact that railway wages on this continent are the highest in the world.

I would not undertake to maintain that private railways always are more economically managed than state railways. I do not believe that is a fact. But I am sure, after having studied the subject for a long time, that, as a rule, private management is more economical than state management. It may be suggested that the higher expenses of state railways are due to the fact that they give better and more adequate service than private railways. But the facts do not show that state railways ordinarily do give better service than private railways.

It may be said, and truly said, that even though it be demonstrated that it costs more to develop and operate railways under government than under private ownership, this does not make out a case, even on economic grounds, in favor of private ownership. Equity in the distribution of wealth is as important to the welfare of the public as efficiency in its production, and it may be contended that under government ownership the wages paid to labor will be higher, the passenger and freight rates charged to the public will be lower, the public instead of private companies will receive the profits earned by the railways, and, in consequence, the public, on the whole, will be better off.

Let us, then, turn to a brief consideration of the relative effects which private and government ownership may be

expected to have on the distribution of wealth. It may safely be assumed at the outset that under either system there will always be a struggle going on between the various classes of the community and sections of the country to determine how the burden and benefits resulting from the development and operation of the railways shall be divided. Under either system travelers and shippers always will want low rates, labor will want short hours of work and high wages, and the owners of the railways, whether they be private capitalists or the public, will want to keep the profits large or the deficit small, as the case may be. The welfare of the public demands that this struggle shall be kept within reasonable bounds, and that at the same time it shall not be allowed to result in some of those engaged in it securing unfair privileges and advantages at the expense of the others who are engaged in it. The only authority which conceivably can thus at once control and arbitrate the struggle is obviously the government of the country.

But the government of a country is not a mere mechanical device which automatically registers what is right and wrong, what is fair and unfair, and in the same manner issues its decrees and compels obedience to them. The government of a country is composed of ordinary men who enact and administer laws; and in a democratic country those who make and administer the laws owe their offices, and depend for the opportunity to continue in them, on the votes of their fellow citizens. Therefore, we may be sure that under either system the men who, in a democratic country, compose the government will always deal with matters affecting railways with some regard to their own political interests as well as with some regard to the economic welfare of the public; and the system which will be most likely to cause equity to be done between all parts of that people is that system which will tend most strongly to make it to the interest of those in office to hold the balances even as between all classes.

Under the system of private ownership and public regulation—and public regulation has become the rule wherever private ownership exists—public officials, including especially those particularly delegated to regulate the railways, occupy positions of more or less detachment with respect to railway



affairs, and the pressure brought to bear upon them by the various classes and sections of the country tends to cause them to deal out approximate justice. Railways cannot be successfully developed and operated under private ownership unless those who invest in them are allowed to derive a reasonable return from their investment. The arguments that may be marshalled and the pressure which may be brought to bear in support of making the practice conform to sound principle, usually result in private railways being allowed to earn enough to raise adequate capital. There are likely to be temporary deviations from the correct practice in this respect, as we have found in the United States; but recent decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission have shown that even in our country, where hostility to the railways has been extreme, it is by no means impossible to convince intelligent regulating bodies and the public that advances in rates are sometimes as justifiable as reductions are at other times.

At the same time, under the system of private ownership and public regulation rates and earnings are not likely to be allowed to become excessive. For, as experience has shown, and nowhere more conclusively than in Canada and the United States, those who directly pay the rates are quite capable of organizing effectively, to fight for reasonable reductions and to prevent unreasonable advances, and are not at all loath to do so.

Similarly, the employees of private railways subject to public regulation have shown that by organizing, arguing, threatening to strike, and even going to the government for legislation, they are able to get and keep their wages on quite as high a basis as the employees of other classes of concerns and even as the employees of governments themselves.

Finally, where railways are privately owned, public officials are pretty sure in the long run to be alert and active in compelling the companies to contribute in the form of taxes and otherwise their fair share, if not more than their fair share, toward the support of the government.

The situation is most radically changed when railways become the property of the government. As I have said, the struggle between the various classes and communities of the

country over railway matters continues under this system but the government and the men who compose it then cease to be in a position where they can arbitrate between the various parties involved, and become directly involved as parties to it themselves. In a democratic country, such as yours and ours, the authority of the law-making body over the railways under government ownership becomes omnipotent, and it can make any distribution of the burdens and benefits of railway operation that it sees fit. It may delegate the regulation and management of the railways to commissions or other officers and give to them a large amount of independence; but this is seldom done except for short periods. For no matter how much independent authority may theoretically be given to others under government ownership, it is always well known that the authority the lawmakers have given they can take away; and, therefore, there are always bound to be constant appeals from the railway managers or the railway commission to the law-making body itself. In consequence, the lawmakers, and through them the management of the railways, are bound to be constantly subjected to political pressure from all of the interested classes and communities. They will be subjected to pressure by bodies of the employees for higher wages and easier conditions of work. They will be subjected to pressure by organized bodies of shippers for low freight rates and by organized bodies of commercial travelers, working men and commuters for low passenger rates.

There is, however, one class in the community which is not susceptible of organization, except, perhaps, very sporadically and temporarily, for the purpose of influencing government in its behalf. This class is that composed of the taxpayers. It is a much larger class than any of the others; but an organized body of voters having a single interest which it has been organized to promote, is as much more efficient than a larger unorganized body of voters in exerting political pressure in a democratic country, as a trained body of regular soldiers is superior in fighting quality to a mob of untrained, undisciplined recruits. The consequence is that the one class which under government ownership of railways is likely not to have its interests protected by the government is the tax-



payers. Most of us pay some taxes directly. All of us pay taxes indirectly. They enter into our house rent, into the cost of our clothing, into the prices of everything we eat or drink. There is no way by which their payment can be evaded, and, in consequence, the cost of living of all classes increases with the increase of taxes. Because of this increase of taxes the results of government ownership to certain persons may be different actually from what they are nominally. The passenger or shipper who may get lower rates or the employees who may get easier conditions of work, may largely, or wholly, pay for these advantages in the form of higher taxes and a higher cost of living; and for a large majority of the public the increase in their taxes and cost of living caused by government ownership will be a net loss. Unfortunately, the taxes raised to pay the deficits incurred by state railways are usually so mixed up with the taxes raised for other purposes, that those who pay them have no idea what part of them is to be used to pay the ordinary expenses of the government, and what part is to be used to pay the deficit of the railways.

The conclusion that the increased economic burden, which will usually have to be borne by industry and by the public as a result of government ownership, will be imposed mainly on the tax-payers, is supported not only by theoretical reasoning, but by the actual experience of most countries where government ownership of railways obtains. It cannot be shown that the average wages paid by state railways are ordinarily higher, under comparable conditions, than those paid by private railways, although undoubtedly under government ownership more men usually are employed to do a given amount of work. It cannot be shown that under comparable conditions the rates of state railways usually are lower than those of private railways. It is true that in Canada the rates of the Intercolonial, both passenger and freight, are relatively low, but the usual rule is that the passenger rates of state railways are somewhat lower than those of private railways, while the freight rates are somewhat higher. Considering the passenger and freight rates together, the total amount which has to be paid for the transportation of a given amount of traffic usually is relatively more on state railways than on private railways.

One thing, however, which may be conclusively demonstrated is that while private railways invariably are required to pay taxes to the public, the usual rule as to state railways is that taxes have to be collected from the public to make up deficits which they incur. One of the most extreme examples of this kind is afforded by your own Intercolonial Railway. My study of its figures, and a somewhat hasty and cursory observation of the physical property itself, have led me to believe that the Intercolonial is now being managed with an economy and skill which are a vast improvement over those shown in its management until within the last two years. Regardless of that, however, during the years from 1867 to 1914 the Intercolonial failed by \$9,600,000 to earn even its bare operating expenses. In 1914 the property was carried on the books at a cost of \$103,431,000. I had a calculation made to ascertain the total amount the road had cost the people of Canada. This was based on the assumption that, on the average, it ought to earn its operating expenses and 4 per cent. on the actual investment in it. This certainly is a conservative basis. This statement showed that up to 1914, including the actual investment in the road and the total losses it had incurred, the road had cost the people of Canada over \$348,000,000. Assuming that it is actually worth to-day the cost at which it is carried on the books, its total cost to the taxpayers of Canada has been \$245,000,000 more than its present value. These losses have been partly due to the lowness of its rates, and partly to its uneconomical management; but to whatever causes they have been due, the losses have had to be borne by the taxpayers of this country.

While the case of the Intercolonial is an extreme one, it is by no means exceptional. There are some state railways which earn the interest on the total investment in them, and even more. This is true, for example, of those of Prussia and of Japan. But in Belgium, Italy, France, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Russia, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, and most other countries the state railways have on the average failed to earn their operating expenses and interest, thereby incurring deficits which have had to be borne by the taxpayers. I am aware that it can be



shown that in some years the railways of some of these countries have earned their interest. I am speaking now of what they have done on the average over substantial periods, and the rule is, that over any considerable period almost every state railway in the world imposes burdens on the taxpayers, while almost every system of private railways pays taxes into the public treasury.

One question which may be raised in this connection is as to whether it is a violation of sound principle for state railways to so make their rates as to cause deficits, and thereby impose burdens on the taxpayers. It is a well-known fact that the rates of your Intercolonial Railway are relatively low, and it is sometimes contended that all its losses have been due to the lowness of its rates. My study of its statistics and observation of its physical conditions convince me that its losses, at least until within the last year or two, have been due more to uneconomical management than to low rates. This conclusion derives strong support from the fact that within the last two years the present management has been able to increase the earnings about \$1,600,000 a year, while actually reducing the expenses by about \$600,000 a year. But suppose its losses have all been due to the lowness of its rates. Is that a sufficient defense of them? Either those who pay non-compensatory rates, and those who pay the taxes levied to meet the deficits they cause, are the same people, or they are different people. If they are the same people, what they gain by the rates is taken from them in increased taxes. If they are different people, those who pay the rates get their transportation for less than cost and those who pay the taxes pay for something they do not get. It is hard to see how anybody can be benefited by saving money through low rates and having it all taken away in increased taxes. It is also hard to find justice in giving some people low rates at the cost to others of higher taxes.

There is no more justification, on grounds either of economics, or of equity, for so making railway rates as not to cover interest on the investment, and then calling on taxpayers to make up the deficit, than there would be for charging no rates at all, and calling on the taxpayers to pay both the total operating expenses and the interest. The interest on the in-

vestment is just as clearly a part of the cost of providing the service as are the operating expenses.

The conclusion suggested by the foregoing facts and considerations, it seems to me, is that not only are private railways more likely than state railways to be so managed as to keep the economic cost of transportation down to the minimum, but that they are more likely under the system of regulation, which now obtains almost universally where private ownership obtains, to be so managed and regulated as to promote equity in the distribution of wealth.

Let us now turn to some of the political considerations bearing on the subject. Many years ago a commission of the Italian government investigated the subject of government ownership and reported that, in its opinion, under that policy "politics would corrupt the railroads and the railroads would corrupt politics." I have given my reasons for believing that especially under democratic conditions political considerations and political pressure are bound to exert so great an influence on the management of state railways as to cause them to produce less satisfactory economic results than would be produced by private railways. But whatever makes political considerations and political pressure exert more influence on the management of railways under government than under private ownership, will at the same time make the railways under government ownership a more demoralizing influence in politics than they would be under private ownership. If it tends to demoralize the management of the railways to have men taken into and advanced in their service for political reasons, this in its turn will also have a demoralizing effect on politics. If the giving of railway contracts for political reasons will tend to demoralize the management of the railways, it will at the same time tend to demoralize politics. If the granting of concessions to the employees for political reasons will tend to demoralize the management of the railways, it will at the same time tend to demoralize politics. And so all along the line.

Now, a country with an autocratic government, such as that of Prussia, may be able to keep politics out of its state railways and its state railways out of politics. In such a country, therefore, the dictum that under government owner-



ship "politics will corrupt the railroads and the railroads will corrupt politics" may not be true. In Prussia, the suffrage is so regulated that the political influence of the different classes of the people is determined by their wealth and not by their numbers, and therefore the railway employees are almost entirely without political influence. It is in consequence of this that the government is able to, and does, prohibit them from belonging to labor unions of any kind and subjects them to a strict military discipline.

But what can be done in a country having such a government, and having a people willing to submit to such a government as Prussia, is no criterion of what can be done in a country having such a people and such political institutions as we have in Canada and the United States.

I am not sufficiently familiar with your affairs to know just to what extent politics pervades your government affairs and enterprises. I have, however, devoted much study to the results of your state railways, especially the Intercolonial, and I have talked a good deal about the management of these roads with citizens of your country, and I have gained a very strong impression that these railways at times have played some part in politics and that politics has played some part in their management. My familiarity with affairs in the United States is greater, and certainly there is no department or enterprise of the government of my own country in which politics does not play an important part. Therefore, to assume in the United States that under government ownership the railroads would not corrupt politics, and that politics would not corrupt the railroads, would be to disregard practically all past experience.

One may sincerely and ardently believe that democracy is the best form of government to secure the citizen the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; one may have confidence that democracy can succeed in so regulating the relations between large business concerns and the public, as well as between individual and individual, as to protect the rights and further the interests of all; and yet be convinced that so far as democratic government has as yet developed in most parts of the world it is not a good form of government for managing commercial enterprises. A

government to be successful in the management of large commercial enterprises must, to a very great extent, be organized and administered as successful private business concerns are organized and administered. The fundamental requisites of successful business management cannot be altered by the simple expedient of transferring concerns from private to public ownership. Whether a business is owned and managed by a corporation, or owned and managed by the public, the owners, in order that it may be run successfully, must choose and retain the managers solely because of their special fitness for their duties. Having done this, the owners must give the managers wide discretion and authority, especially for dealing with the employees. The owners must interfere very little with what the managers do, and ordinarily must try to hold them responsible only for general results. A democratic government may successfully regulate private concerns that are thus organized, officered and managed; but few democracies have ever shown an effective disposition to have business concerns owned by themselves organized, officered and managed in this way; and until they do show such a disposition it is folly to expect them to manage railways and other great industrial enterprises efficiently and beneficently.



(November 29, 1916)

## THE DISABLED SOLDIER

---

By T. B. KIDNER

---

THE problem of the disabled soldier is, of course, not an absolutely new problem, but the character and magnitude of the present conflict have brought home to every person who has given the matter any study, a conviction of its tremendous reality and immense seriousness for the nation. In the past, a small pension, a medal or so, and, all too often, the poorhouse as the finale, have been the reward of men "broke in the wars" in their country's service. To-day, however, it is universally recognized that such must not be the lot of the men who are now fighting to ensure that right and freedom, in Lincoln's matchless phrase, "shall not perish from the earth." Not only must adequate pensions be provided for the disabled, but they must be aided in every way to realise that the joy of life still exists for them, and that the greatest happiness comes from service—happiness for themselves and the community.

One or two general principles may be stated to serve as some guide to the consideration of the problem. First and foremost, it seems to me, is the broad and generally accepted principle of the bad effects of idleness; the serious deterioration that unemployed men, in almost every case, soon suffer. For some reason or other, this would seem to apply particularly to the discharged soldier. There is not much literature on the matter, but all who have had to deal with the discharged soldier agree that his deterioration, if unemployed, is very rapid, and that a few months of idleness will, in most cases, render him practically unemployable.

In the case of the disabled man this seems peculiarly true, and it is not difficult to understand why this should be

so. His disability preys on his mind and self-pity grows in him. He has also the feeling that, having suffered so for his country, he should not be required to exert himself for his maintenance, but that the country owes him a livelihood. This latter is true, in my opinion, if it is stated "owes him an opportunity to obtain a livelihood." I am not speaking now of that proportion who will be totally disabled from wounds or disease; for whom, of course, special provision must be made, either in their own homes, or, as a last resort, in institutions specially designed for the purpose. I refer rather to the partially disabled man, really the most difficult and urgent aspect of the matter. He comes home after terrible experiences and sufferings which, in themselves, are enough to induce that self-pity of which I have just spoken; but, unfortunately, he is often encouraged in this attitude by the mistaken sentimentality with which he is greeted on his return. Please do not misunderstand me. Of course, "nothing is too good" for the men when we welcome them home, but I venture to suggest that the attitude of the community should be that of wise parents to their children, and not that of over-indulgent ones. There is, too, more than a possibility that the outflow of enthusiasm will be expended too soon, and that the arrival of our war-worn men may tend to become a matter of course and official routine. In point of fact, this has already happened in some places where over-sentimental persons have first spoiled the returning men and have then become disappointed when, largely as the result of their hero-worship, the poor fellows have transgressed in some way or other.

The problem, then, as it appears to present itself, is, how shall we raise the disabled again, and alleviate their lot by restoring to them that joy of life which comes from the feeling of renewed capacity to work, and of mastery over themselves and their disabilities.

I think we can feel a just pride that Canada was really the first of the warring nations to take up this problem officially as a national duty. I am, of course, aware of the splendid work which was begun in France soon after the war broke out and is being carried on by a large number of state, municipal, private and other agencies. Neither should one forget the excellent work being done in England by such agencies as



the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society and similar bodies. But by the appointment, in June, 1915, of a special body to deal with the problem of returned soldiers, Canada became, as I have just said, the first nation to deal with it governmentally as a large, national question. The body appointed was, of course, the Military Hospitals Commission, under the Presidency of Senator, now Sir James, Lougheed, and it was given wide powers. Time will not permit of my giving anything like an adequate account of the general activities of the Commission, and, indeed, much of what I might say is probably known to many in this room, but a few remarks are necessary to make clear some of the points which will subsequently be touched upon.

The first duty of the Commission was the provision of suitable Convalescent Hospitals in which the returned disabled men might recuperate. Thanks to the fine spirit of patriotism and co-operation of public and private bodies and individual citizens, a number of institutions were soon in operation. At present, a chain of some twenty-two Convalescent Hospitals is being operated by the Commission, from Cape Breton to Vancouver Island.

The next matter to be arranged was the provision of employment for the returned men and to that end a Conference of the Provinces with the Federal authorities was held in Ottawa in October, 1915. Here again a fine spirit of co-operation was displayed, and each Province agreed to appoint a Provincial Committee or Commission to work in co-operation with the Military Hospitals Commission, in the matter of providing employment for returned men. The Provinces also agreed to co-operate and assist in the matter of the vocational training of those of the disabled who might require re-education for new occupations.

Other urgent needs arose from time to time, such as the necessity of special provision for the numerous cases of men suffering from mental shock, for whom there has been provided a special institution where, under skilled treatment and pleasant surroundings, the majority of these distressing cases usually make a complete recovery.

The question of the provision of suitable artificial limbs, which has been a very difficult one in France and Great Britain,

was also given much study and, on the advice of some of the best orthopedists of Canada, a special institution for the manufacture of artificial apparatus was established in Toronto.

Perhaps the most serious of the special aspects of the disabled soldier problem with which the Commission has had to deal was that of the sufferers from that dread disease, tuberculosis. Some four hundred and fifty soldiers are at present in sanatoria in different parts of Canada, and of these about sixty per cent. have not been overseas. To provide for this large number, the Commission has had to establish sanatoria of its own and has also had to place men in private and Provincial institutions to the limit of their capacity. I hope to show later in my remarks that many of the so-called returned soldier problems are really nation-wide social and economic problems, which sooner or later would have demanded attention, even if war had not occurred. Surely the question of tuberculosis is one of such, for it appears a fair assumption that in the great majority of cases amongst our soldiers, the disease was present before enlistment.

A variety of other duties have been assumed by the Commission, one of the most useful, perhaps, being that, through the Provincial Commissions and their local Committees, it has acted as a clearing house for various complaints and troubles as to pay, pension and other matters for the men and their dependents.

But I must pass now to the particular part of the work of the Commission with which I have the honour to be associated, the vocational branch, for it is of that I was invited to speak particularly to-day. It is, may I say, one of the most important duties assigned to the Commission, the provision of vocational training for the disabled. This work was taken up in earnest early in the present year and, from the nature of things, was, at first, largely experimental. Outside of the brief experience of France, some accounts of what Belgium was doing and some isolated attempts in England, there was practically little upon which to base any theories, or plans for action. One of the first things undertaken, therefore, was a survey, at widely separated parts of Canada, of typical groups of patients in the Convalescent Hospitals. Amongst other facts ascertained was the cheering one that



the proportion of men who were so disabled as not to be able to return to their previous occupations was comparatively small. Since then, figures have been obtained from France, where this proportion is stated to be less than one per cent. of the wounded. It is not possible yet to give definite percentages for our men in Canada, but as only the more seriously disabled have been returned, our percentage of them will probably be higher than that of the French, which is apparently of the whole of the wounded.

One of the most important facts brought out by these preliminary surveys and one which led to immediate action, was that, outside of the medical treatment and, in some cases, an occasional entertainment, the men under convalescent treatment in our hospitals were idle most of their time. Not only was this bad from moral and social standpoints, but from a therapeutic point of view it was felt to be deplorable. For, apart from the incalculable harm which might be wrought in the character of the men from their long periods of enforced idleness, the medical testimony showed that recovery of health was often retarded by want of occupation during convalescence. The Commission, therefore, decided to give every man undergoing convalescent treatment in Canada, an opportunity of undertaking some useful and interesting studies and work. As a beginning, there were started in the Convalescent Hospitals, classes in general subjects in which those who desired to do so might brush up their education or take up new subjects. Another of the earliest classes to be opened was for the teaching of English to foreign-born members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, of whom there were numbers, in the west especially. More from the recreative than the vocational point of view, instruction in simple work of the Arts and Crafts type was also introduced. This shopwork often involved draughting and led to the installation of apparatus for, and instruction in, mechanical and architectural drawing. As noted earlier, the object of the establishment of these classes in the Convalescent Hospitals was primarily therapeutic and from that aspect has had marvellous effects. Men who, from the experiences they had gone through, were nervous, irritable and out of key with a normal environment, are benefiting wonderfully from the active work of the classes

in which their minds and bodies are healthily occupied. Their interest in life is re-aroused and their ambition to succeed in civil life again is developed because of the work undertaken.

But while the work was primarily therapeutic for mind and body, a great many men have found the training received during convalescence of actual commercial value in after life. Already numerous instances of this have occurred; but I will mention only one broad field as an example of the help which can be given in this way. As I am sure most of you are aware, a little skill in mechanical drawing, the ability to read and interpret a blue print and a knowledge of simple shop arithmetic or mathematics, will enable the ordinary craftsman, in most cases, to become a foreman or superintendent. These things can be, and are being, imparted to men in our hospitals, and cases have already occurred where men have returned to civil life and taken better positions than they held before enlistment, in consequence of the training given them during convalescence.

In practically every centre, the classes in general subjects soon developed a distinct commercial side in which typewriting, shorthand, bookkeeping and related branches are taught. There is a considerable demand for male help in these lines in various parts of the country and many slightly disabled men, of no particular occupation, have been able to qualify for clerical positions in this way.

Thanks to the co-operation of the Civil Service Commissioners, classes to prepare men for Civil Service examinations have been organised at several centres. In the first group of men, eight in number, which sat for an examination, there were no failures. The maximum of possible marks was 300, and the lowest marked candidate obtained 235.

Automobile and internal combustion engine work is also being carried on with much success in various centres. In one place, Calgary, the men have been able to furbish up an old car which had been scrapped and presented to them for experimental purposes, and now use it to carry the class to and from the hospital and the building where the instruction is given, and, of course, are able to learn to drive a car at the same time.

In the Arts and Crafts shops, a large amount of useful



work has been done for the Hospitals and, in some cases, for sale, in the proceeds of which the men share.

Hitherto, I have made no mention of the outdoor work, but in every centre where the conditions permit, there have been introduced gardening, poultry-raising, bee-keeping, and kindred pursuits. Although a great deal is hoped for in the way of land settlement by returned soldiers, it must be confessed that up to the present only a very small proportion of the returned men have expressed any desire to go in for agricultural pursuits. Be that as it may, however, the Commission believes that not only will work of this kind during convalescence have an immediate beneficial effect on the men, but it is also hoped that some, at least, will have their interest aroused, and be given a bias towards work on the land. As in the arts and crafts work, the poultry work and gardening are made as practical as possible; the products being sold and the profits applied to extension of the work and for the benefit of the men engaged in it. In Winnipeg, between \$800 and \$900 worth of poultry and garden products were raised by the patients at the local convalescent hospital during the season just closed.

But I must leave this and pass on to the question of vocational re-education; that is, the training of the more seriously disabled men for whom it is necessary to provide training for new occupations. Before the Commission could take this up in earnest, two matters had to be dealt with by the Government. First, it had to be made clear that a man's pension would not be reduced if, in consequence of any vocational training given him, he was able to overcome his disability and increase his earning power. The House of Commons Pension Committee saw the necessity of this and by Section 9 of the Order-in-Council embodying the Committee's recommendations, it is expressly declared that:—

"No deduction shall be made from the amount awarded to any pensioner owing to his having undertaken work or perfected himself in some form of industry."

The other matter which had to be determined was how a disabled man and his dependents were to be maintained during his period of re-education for a new vocation. By another Order-in-Council, the Commission was empowered to

pay certain amounts for this purpose upon a scale drawn up after a good deal of study and consideration. Thus, not only is tuition free, but the man is freed from worry as to his dependents, and able to devote himself to his course of training.

One of the questions frequently asked is "For what trades or occupations do you train the disabled men?" Probably that question is in the minds of some present to-day, and I shall endeavour to answer it, though indirectly.

The question as to what new occupation a disabled man may be trained for is clearly, first of all, a medical one. But it is also a question for a technical specialist or "vocational counsellor;" a man well versed in a knowledge of the methods of various industries and of the training necessary for those who desire to pursue them. But further, and this is an important consideration, it is an economic question, touching the law of supply and demand; for while there are a number of occupations for which it is not difficult to train men, it does not follow that employment can readily be obtained in them. Last, but by no means least, the man's own wishes and desires for his future must be consulted.

The question, then, is an individual one and every case is investigated separately. The decision is made in the light of the medical, technical, economic and personal factors of his case. When it appears from a man's medical records that he is likely to be unable to return to his former occupation, he is examined by an official of the Commission, a vocational education expert, termed the "District Vocational Officer." This officer obtains from the man particulars of his schooling and other education and also his industrial history. May I say here in passing that these industrial histories are revealing a sad waste of effort in the lives of numbers of our young men. Many of them appear to have drifted from job to job, largely for want of some training which would enable them to earn their living. The Vocational Officer also records (of course, for confidential use only) his impressions of the man as revealed in his interview, during which various other information is also obtained, such as the man's hobbies, recreations, habits, etc. A special examination is then made of the case by a medical officer who reports on the man's powers and limitations in the light of his vocational future.



The information obtained by the Vocational and Medical officers is then considered by a small Board of three persons, known as a "Disabled Soldiers' Training Board," which consists of the Vocational and Medical officers and a lay member. The lay member is nominated by the Provincial Commission, being usually selected from a committee of the Provincial Commission specially formed to consider vocational training problems in the light of local industrial facts. It will readily be seen that various problems of labor supply and related difficulties may come up in considering the direction of disabled men towards new occupations, and the presence on the Board of the local lay member is therefore most valuable.

The Board considers the case and makes suitable recommendations to the Head Office of the Commission, where the case is at once dealt with and, usually, the recommendations approved. The payments for the man's maintenance (and for his dependents, if any) commence as soon as the man begins his re-education course and are continued for one month after he completes it, whether or not he has obtained a position.

The training is being given in a variety of ways and places. In several centres the simple equipment for the classes for convalescent patients in the Hospitals is being increased so that re-education courses in certain lines can be given there. The experience of France seems to be in favor of what might be termed "Boarding Schools" where the men live in the institution where they are being trained. But Provinces and municipalities throughout Canada have offered the facilities afforded by their Technical Colleges and Schools and also by their institutions for training in agriculture, for the purpose of training disabled men, and advantage is being taken of this already. One thing is clear, however, and that is that the ordinary curriculum and time table will not suit; neither should the disabled men be placed in the regular classes. Therefore, where men are being trained in municipal or other institutions, it is arranged, whenever possible, to form special groups, limited in number under a special teacher. May I say, in passing, that the finding of suitable instructors has been and still is one of the difficult problems of the work. Canada, as a whole, had not been considering very seriously the question of vocational and industrial training and our

supply of skilled instructors was all too short before the war. But quite a number of these men have gone overseas and it has been found necessary, in several instances, to take them from the combatant ranks to serve as instructors in this country. Also, and this will probably increase, disabled men are being engaged as instructors whenever available. Some disabled men are being re-educated in private institutions, such as Business Colleges and Automobile Schools, but as both of these lines are being taken up in connection with the classes in the Hospitals, it is not probable that many will be trained in this way. Numerous offers are also being received to train men in private workshops. In France, this plan was tried somewhat extensively, the men being given an allowance to enable them to live at home. But experience shewed that it was not satisfactory, for several reasons, amongst them being that no guarantee was given that real instruction would be afforded the pupil; neither was the position of the disabled always satisfactory in relation to the unwounded workmen.

The men at present undergoing re-education in Canada are being trained for a variety of work. In one Western city several men who have lost an arm are being trained for Sanitary Inspectors, for which the Provincial Commission reported a demand. Others are being trained for special civil service positions in which their previous industrial history will be useful. This last point is important, for it is a prime consideration in directing a disabled man towards a new vocation. If possible, advantage is always taken of a man's previous training. Thus, if a craftsman or manual worker in any line is prevented by his disability from carrying on his active manual work, an endeavour is made to equip him with the necessary theory and general education to enable him to become a foreman or superintendent in his own line. It is not, of course, impossible to train a man for a new trade altogether, but the principle of training a man for some trade related or allied to his former one, is sound and economically wise.

A few men have entered upon courses in poultry work, dairying and other agricultural pursuits. This is a field of work from which many writers and speakers on the disabled soldier problem appear to expect a great deal. Desirable and



necessary as it is to have these men go on the land, wherever it appears possible for them to do so successfully, the fact remains, as mentioned earlier, that up to the present the proportion of our returned men who have expressed desires in that direction is woefully small. It is, of course, to be remembered that the majority of men who have returned have been disabled by disease or wounds, but instead of (as I have heard said) "the free and open life of the camp and trench rendering their former indoor occupations distasteful," etc., the majority of the poor fellows with whom I have come in personal contact have had all the outdoor experience they will ever want, and are hoping to find posts, as one of them put it, "indoors, out of the weather, for the rest of my days."

But it is only fair to say that when the Government decides upon a comprehensive scheme of land settlement for returned men, it is probable that a great many of them will be attracted to the land. It is, of course, known that the Government has before it such a scheme, prepared by the Economic and Development Commission, and doubtless by the time the men are returning in large numbers, the land will be ready for them.

But land settlement, the question of employment, or rather, un-employment, of tuberculosis and of industrial and vocational education, all are national problems, which are only made more apparent through their being forcibly brought to our attention by the urgency of the disabled soldier problem. If, for instance, any doubts exist as to the necessity for a broad and generous scheme of industrial training for the nation, the contrast in the outlook for the future between disabled men who have been trained thoroughly in technical lines before enlistment, and those whose only commodity was unskilled labour, should remove them. On the one hand, confidence and calm serenity; on the other, fear and dread of the future. We are already hearing of preparedness for the "war after the war." All these problems must be faced and solved if we are to hold our own.

But the immediate problem of the re-habilitation of our disabled calls for great efforts. It is not a problem for the Government alone, but for every thinking man and woman. Our duty is plain and our people as a whole are convinced of it.

Pensions alone, however generous, are not sufficient to pay the nation's debt, and must be supplemented by sympathetic and efficient aid to enable the shattered to help themselves—to become once more conscious of and able to participate in the true joy of living, which comes only from useful and satisfying work.



*(December 11th, 1916)*

## PRISON REFORM

---

By THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE

---

**I**T certainly is a great privilege to come here, away from my own particular State and country, to tell you something of the work that has been done in our New York prisons in the last three years. As your Chairman has pointed out, I approach this problem, not from the standpoint of the ordinary humanitarian, not from the penological point of view, but from that of a business man interested in preserving society. Of course I have always been more or less interested in prisons. You see there is one of our New York State prisons located in the city of Auburn, and it occupies a very hospitable situation immediately opposite the railway station, so that the last thing that one sees upon leaving Auburn, and the first thing one sees upon returning to that city is the State prison. Even the ordinary, well-behaved citizen of this community is forced to think prison very frequently. The consequence is that from my earliest recollection the stone walls of the prison have formed a very irritating sort of social conundrum, and I always hated conundrums. I knew that nobody was satisfied with the system in force in the State prisons. I knew that nobody was satisfied with the results of that system. I knew that most people who had looked into the matter at all regarded it as a total failure, and so it formed one of those unsolved problems that as I have said are so irritating to most of us. Consequently, I have always been interested in the prison. For fifteen or sixteen years I was the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the George Junior Republic, an institution which took young children of both sexes, many of whom would otherwise have gone into the correctional institutions, and gave them a very unusual treatment, a treatment of very consi-

derable liberty. In other words, emphasis was placed upon liberty instead of confinement. The result as I saw it was most favorable. We found the state of freedom in this institution brought out the individual characteristics of the children, the desirable characteristics, and the result was a very large percentage of success; and so I always wondered whether something of the same sort would not be the key of the prison problem.

About three and a half years ago the Governor of the State of New York asked me whether I would go upon a commission on prison reform. He was about to attempt to take hold of the prison problem, and he laid great stress upon the appointment of a new Superintendent of prisons; but as I pointed out to him, that would not reach the root of the question. Not only did we need to improve the machinery of the Superintendent's office, but we needed to go down to the roots of the problem and see if we could not find some method of reforming the institution, so that more men would come out of prison prepared to do their duty in society. He asked me whether I would take the Chairmanship of such a commission and I said I would. The commission was appointed and I found myself at the head of a body of men and women whose one idea was to see if we could not find out some system we could put into operation in the prisons which would produce a larger measure of success. As I have said, we approached the problem not from the point of view of the penologist or humanitarian, but to see if we could not protect society better. Upon looking into the records of the New York prisons I found that two-thirds of the men then in prison were those who had been there before. They were second termers or had served three, four, five, six or more terms. In talking with a man in Sing Sing I asked him whether he had ever served a previous term in prison. He looked at me somewhat mournfully and said: "Eleven." The statistics of the English prisons show that seven per cent. of the men sent to prison in England have served more than twenty times. The figures of the English prisons show that 62½ per cent. of the prisoners are those who have been there before, against our two-thirds or sixty-six per cent. But I think, if the truth were known the percentage is even



larger than sixty-six; because quite a number of my acquaintances in the prison are doing time as first termers but, if you learn the truth, have been in prison before in some other State. The magnitude of the problem may be gathered from this fact, that the census of 1910, which is the last census available in the United States, showed that there are something less than two thousand nine hundred institutions of correction, penitentiaries, prisons, reformatories, what you will, in our country, and out of those institutions back into society in that one year there came four hundred and seventy-six thousand men, women and children. Here is a vast army of men and women coming back into society, and the condition of mind in which those men and women come back is of the utmost importance to society. Do they come back intending to go straight, or simply to return to a career of crime? The answer as given in the figures I have already given you is clear. Two-thirds come back to prison, and of the remaining third it must be obvious to anybody that a considerable portion return to a life of crime but are too clever to get caught. They take the view of a friend of mine who was talking about the peculiar circumstances under which he landed in prison. He watched very carefully the conduct of the policeman on a particular beat and took the occasion to enter a house when the policeman was away, and then he walked out of the front door and walked right into the arms of the policeman, and the man said to me: "You know, Mr. Osborne, that policeman had no business to be there at that time." That particular individual when he came out was going to take special notice and take particular care not to be caught in that way the second time. He would no doubt next time walk out of the back door. As for his knocking off from a criminal career, that would not enter his mind for a moment.

Now, as Chairman of the Commission on Prison Reform, I felt that it was obligatory for me to get as near the problem as possible. In reading the various books on penology, I found that we had a good deal of theorizing from the outside and precious little real knowledge of the products of the institution. If you are examining into a manufacturing plant, you would consider it necessary not only to take account of the

machinery, the buildings, and so forth but you would want to know what was the quality of the product; and any survey of that particular plant which left that entirely out of consideration you would not regard as of any particular value. It is true that the one element in all our dealings with prisons for over one hundred years or more, the element we have left out of consideration entirely, is the prisoner, the one person who knows all about the matter from the most important point of view. We have theorized in this direction and in the other direction, and we tried to put our theories into operation upon men of whose characters and modes of thought we have taken no account whatever. I remember reading in books on penology some gems of wisdom. I read one book, an American book, written by a man who had been thirty years the chaplain in a State prison, and in the course of his discussion of the character of the prisoners, he said: "One of the characteristics of the criminal is his love of animals and birds." Any man who would write such a sentence as that is constitutionally disqualified. I think it is only to be equalled by a sentence written in a well-known text book on criminology, which says that criminals are not altogether devoid of family affection. Now you see the inherent fallacy in the minds of both of those men, American and English, is the idea that these creatures are of an entirely different order than ourselves; that the criminal belongs to a separate caste, needing entirely different treatment. Well, I wanted to see whether this was so. You know in our country we say when we want to know things that we are from Missouri. We want to be shown; and so, divesting my mind as far as I could from any preconceived notions on the subject, except that the present system was a failure, I went into prison myself for a week. I selected a week when I had an important engagement in New York city the next week. Not that I for a moment imagined that I could enjoy all the feelings of the regular prisoner. I may add that I did not want to, but I did feel that if I got behind the bars and marched in the lines and lived with those men, ate with those men and slept just as they did, worked as they did, I should know a great deal more than I should by looking at the problem from the outside. So I went into prison and stayed a week. I may add that after I was through



my week's term I found that I had inadvertently given myself a life sentence, because I have not been able to tear myself away from prison since. After that, all through the winter and spring, I went down to the prison two or three times a day. I became well acquainted with a large number of prisoners. Then, when an epidemic of scarlatina broke out in the prison I went in and put on my uniform and became a prisoner for the time being. Later on, when some of the road-building camps went out into the country to work for the Highway Department, I went out and worked for a couple of weeks with the men, and I may say to any other elderly gentlemen here that when you are looking for exercise, golf is not in it with the pick and shovel. Then, quite as a surprise to myself, I was asked whether I would be governor of the Sing Sing prison. I had never expected to take any official position again. I had been in politics and got out of it, and I was quite satisfied to have got out of it with my character unimpaired or unimpeached—the impeachment came later—and as I have often said I found great pleasure in going from politics into prison because I found there was a certain advantage in associating with men whose conduct ran along the same lines as their principles. I would not have you consider that I subscribe in all points with the principles, but at any rate their principles and conduct are in harmony. My two years since I became Governor of Sing Sing prison have been varied ones. I enjoyed the confidence of the Superintendent who appointed me for six months or so, and after that there was war, and it finally led to my indictment. I have been tried with a State prison sentence at the end of a successful trial, but the trial broke down. After the District Attorney had presented his case the Judge directed a verdict for the defendant without hearing any of our testimony at all. But the trial had a certain advantage. One of the old-timers in Sing Sing prison took me aside in the yard one day and said: "Now, Warden, you know just how it is to be framed up." And that reminds me of another remark made to me by an old-timer. He said to me one day: "Warden, I want you to distinctly understand that if you go I go too." I ought to add that he is still there.

Now the difficulty in getting at the prison problem is

just this. You must remember that in any ordinary investigation by inspectors or commissions or what not the extreme difficulty is getting down to the facts. You can send inspectors to the prison. How are you going to get the truth? The officials are the very ones to be investigated. They are not going to tell you the truth. Are you going to get it from the prisoners? Well, you must remember the danger you are putting them in. Is a prisoner going to tell you the truth when he knows that the moment the inspector's back is turned he will be at the mercy of the officials of whom he is complaining? Not very long ago in Clinton prison the State Commission on Prisons investigated into conditions there. They examined fifteen persons and promised them protection. Did they get it? Every one of the fifteen has been brutally punished since. Do you think that the prisoners at Clinton are going to run that risk again? Not much. Now there is the inherent difficulty of getting at the truth of the prison problem. The prisoners who come out of prison and tell of the conditions they left behind are not believed. They are regarded as men with a grievance, as fundamentally untruthful men, and usually that it is so, and so it is the hardest thing in the world to get at the truth. I venture to say that there are not half a dozen men in this room who know the truth about the prisons in this Province. Personally I know nothing whatever about the prisons here. You might have the best in the world or you might have the worst in the world for all I know about it, but I will venture to state that nobody in this room knows any more about them than I do. That is the condition that I did not want to subscribe to when I went into the prison, and I did succeed not in learning all there was to know about prisons—I doubt if a lifetime is long enough for that—but I did come out with a far greater knowledge than I could have received by looking at the problem from the outside, and I gained the confidence of the prisoners. That has been the one factor that has been of value in my experience.

One result of my week was to bring about in Auburn Prison, three years ago, the beginning of a prisoners' organization, the Mutual Welfare League. My Commission said: "Now, here, let's try a new thing. We have always been imposing systems from the outside upon the prisoners. Does



any man in the wide world like to be forced along a certain road? No man likes to be a slave or will readily or willingly respond to that treatment. Let us bring the prisoners themselves into the game. Let us say to the prisoners—this is your problem. It is fundamentally your problem; your preparation to go back into the world outside. What have you to suggest? We have failed. The present system is all wrong. You know it is wrong and we know it is wrong. Who are those who are best qualified to suggest a remedy? We have been suggesting remedies for many generations. Now what have you to suggest? That would seem to be reasonable in every other aspect of life; why not in regard to prisons?" It was reasonable. The prisoners suggested: "Let us form a Good Conduct League," and so the Mutual Welfare League was organized. When we met, the question arose: Was it to be an aristocratic league composed of those who had good conduct to their credit for a certain period? or should the doors be thrown open to everyone, and then cut out the ones who don't behave themselves? My stupid idea was that it should be composed of those who had good conduct to their credit for a certain period, but that was punctured very quickly. I laid out the advantages of the selection of good conduct prisoners; and I was Chairman of the Committee. There were no guards present. That was the first time that a body of prisoners had ever been allowed to meet without the guards. Well, one of the committee got up and said: "Who is to decide the good conduct? Who is to set the standard?" And I said: "I suppose the prison authorities." And he said: "Mr. Chairman, I do not accept those standards," and then he sat down and I saw in a moment what he meant. The standards of the old prison system are the standards of the spy, the sneak, the stool pigeon, as they say in prison. Do you remember when you were boys at school which was the more correct standard of real conduct, the teacher's or the boys'? Do you remember the teacher's favorite? Do you remember that nasty little stool pigeon who used to be petted by the teacher because he was such a dear little boy? How you despised him! Carry that to the *n*th power and you have the situation in prison, because the stool pigeon is the most contemptible thing on the face of the earth. So there was

avowed in Auburn, and gradually put in practice, and worked for a year a new principle, the principle of putting responsibility upon the prisoners; and so finally we worked it out in Sing Sing to what you might call a system. In Sing Sing a large part of the discipline and management—not the whole of it, because the Governor of the Prison and his officials still had the responsibility—was delegated in a considerable measure to the prisoners. The prisoners learned how to utilize the liberty society would one day give them outside of prison, by learning how to utilize the liberty given them inside the prison. One of the soundest and best statements of this whole problem was enunciated a number of years ago by Gladstone in a letter to John Morley, in which he said: "It is liberty alone that fits men for liberty." There you have the whole democratic principle in a nutshell. It is liberty alone that fits men for liberty. Can you not see that these men in prison have been sent there because they are weak in certain social qualities, in certain muscles, so to speak, that are necessary for them in the race of life? What folly, because men are weak in those particular muscles to send them to bed where they cannot exercise those muscles! If any of you were to run a race you would not train for it by lying in bed. Men were being trained for a social life, under the old system, by being put where not one of the qualities necessary for a man to get along in a free society could be exercised. If those men were to spend the rest of their lives in prison it would be more use, but they are coming out. Of the five thousand prisoners in New York State, four thousand will be out within the next three years. In what condition are they coming out? Under the old system they came out broken in health, broken in mind, calloused in soul. They had no desire to go straight. They had no intention to go straight, and society paid the penalty.

Now we want to protect society by seeing in the first place that we do not liberate men until they are fit to re-enter society, and in the second place, to give them a chance to prepare themselves, while they are in prison, so that when they come out they may be desirous of living an honest and useful life. That can only be done by the self-government idea. You cannot do it by the so-called honor system,



by systems giving rewards without insisting upon responsibility. You must give these men the responsibility for their own conduct and the conduct of the other prisoners. At Sing Sing in the large Mess Hall, holding twelve hundred men, we have not a single guard. There used to be seventy guards, to see that no man even turned his head. If he did so he went down to the dark cell on bread and water, a slice of bread and a gill of water. The dark cells used to be so crowded that men have been two or three months in their own cells waiting their turn in the dark cell. In the last two years in Sing Sing officially I have not punished more than twenty-five men. Think of that in a community with an average population of sixteen hundred or eighteen hundred. I think as far as good conduct is concerned the community at Sing Sing will bear comparison with any other outside. We do not expect one hundred per cent. of good conduct. It is lucky we don't because we don't get it, but nevertheless the good conduct has been remarkable. There are no guards present. Now what takes the place of the guards? The officers elected by the prisoners from among their own number. They call them delegates. The Board of Delegates is the official body of the prisoners' organization. That Board of Delegates elects an Executive Committee of nine. The Executive Committee appoints a Sergeant at Arms who appoints his assistants, and the Executive Committee also appoints five judges to sit upon all cases requiring discipline, and the court of the prison is a very interesting sight. One of the judges in Brooklyn attended a session of the court and after the session he congratulated the presiding judge and took the occasion to say: "I am very much interested to see that you have no code of laws or rules of precedent." The prisoner said: "No, judge, you see in this court we try to manage things by common sense." Then there is the Warden's Court, or Court of Appeals, composed of the Warden, the physician and the principal keeper, and whenever there are any cases which are not satisfactorily settled by the Prisoners' Court, we sit and hear these cases of appeal. Any prisoner can appeal, and the Warden's Court has very seldom reversed the decision of the Court below. A great majority of appeals that come to us are because the decision of the Prisoners'

Court was too severe, so you see they look after their own discipline pretty well. I wish I could go into details and tell you some of the interesting incidents that came up. Two-thirds of the men used to go back into prison. I have here a letter from the Ford factory where twenty-eight of our men, picked at random, not chosen ones of the league, went to work there last summer. Of the twenty-eight three were dismissed on account of crookedness, and four on account of drinking; the other twenty-one had not only done well but in many cases were reported as being among the very best men in the department. That means seventy-five per cent. of success instead of sixty-six per cent. of failure. As far as the order in the prison is concerned, with the guards taken out of the Mess Hall, out of the workshops, with the men looking after their own discipline—under the old system there used to go to the hospital twenty-five per cent. of the average population in the course of the year, suffering from the result of attacks made by one prisoner on another. Under the new system in Sing Sing, last year, the first year of the new system, five per cent. went to the hospital; and the first six months of this year saw only three and one-half per cent. That shows the improvement in the discipline. But that does not tell the story. The drugs and liquor which used to be rampant made Sing Sing one of the worst examples in the world, I suppose. Crooked politics was at the bottom of it all. That traffic in drugs and liquor has been done away with by the prisoners themselves. You cannot handle it in any other way down there, because it is so easy to smuggle the stuff into Sing Sing, and the guards themselves were accustomed to bring it in. Well, the prisoners selected a guard whom they suspected of bringing in drugs, and the Sergeant at Arms caught him by getting him around a corner, holding him up and searching him. Now of course that was a horrible breach of discipline, but I did not hear anything about it from the guard. He did not complain, because they found three bottles of whiskey on him. The prisoners did not tell me anything about it. They were cleaning the prison up. It was not their business to go and tell tales if the guards would recognize the new system and play fair; so I never heard of it from the prisoners themselves until after I myself had discovered the guard bringing



in whiskey and dismissed him. He is not a believer in the new system.

I want just to read you a few extracts from letters from one of our graduates. This young fellow has been a thief for twenty-three years, and a very successful one. At the age of nine, his parents being dead and his aunt about to send him to an institution, he ran away and was picked up in the Chicago streets by an elderly man who was a thief, who trained this little fellow in picking pockets. He was a very successful pickpocket. He had travelled all over America and in Europe. He had been in most of the capitals in Europe. He opined that London was a nice little town and told me his various experiences. He did not intend to go straight when he got out of prison. He intended joining a mob of fellows and if the President went on a speech-making tour he would go with him. I do not mean to cast any reflection on the character of our chief magistrate, but it is the custom with us when a prominent spell-binder goes around the country for one or more mobs of pocket pickers to go with him. While the candidate gets after votes those young fellows get after the pocketbooks. I said: "How do you manage that? Don't they sometimes have special trains and all that?" He said: "Yes, Roosevelt had a special train. I was on it." I said: "How do you manage?" He said: "I used a newspaper man's pass." "How did you get it?" I said. "Oh, there are a number of men high up that have been in my pay at different times," he said. You can learn a lot of life from these fellows. A few days before he was to leave the prison he had a change of mind. An escape occurred under conditions which showed that the man who escaped had been a traitor to his friends. This was very bad for the league, and so outraged was my friend by this act that he made up his mind that he would balance that escape by going straight, and so he wrote to me after he had been out in the world, telling me how he resisted temptation. "Dear Boss," he wrote, "I stayed up all night waiting for the results of the elections." He goes on to tell how the temptation came to him to go down into the crowd and get some money. He was broke and was not used to that. But he would not do it for the sake of the boys in prison, and myself. He says: "The code I

have always kept with me all through my life is : don't do anything dirty against your friends." The strongest thing in the lives of those men is the loyalty to their friends. Don't do anything dirty against your friends. That is the spirit that the old system tries to crush. It tries to break all communication between a man and his friends. Gentlemen, our whole civilization depends on the brotherhood of man, and the new system is founded solidly upon the brotherhood of man. We say to these men, be true to yourselves and your brothers in prison. If you do that then you show good conduct, you are preparing for life in the world outside, and when a man goes outside he goes straight for the benefit of his friends who are still in prison. You see the privileges which have been given to the men in prison depend ultimately upon the success of the men who go out; so every sense of loyalty, even the loyalty which has been cemented through crime, every particle of it, is necessary to keep a man straight for the sake of his brothers in prison there. That is the great thing which has kept so many men straight after they come out, and that is the thing which holds a man straight in prison, because he sees the man struggling outside and he says: "I have got to go straight for the sake of that fellow outside," and the man outside says: "I must go straight for the sake of the fellow inside." And so this is what we did, we gave these men privileges, priceless privileges. Not the mere privileges of material well-being; not more cake, not the mere liberty of body, but freedom of soul, freedom of mind. They have something that interests them. They are fellowmen; they can talk to each other, cement their friendships, and so this freedom of mind and spirit which has been brought about in the prison has reformed a man when all the pressure that you and I could bring to bear upon them could not do it. The old system has been a failure because it has tried in one way or another to produce reform from the outside by the strong arm. No man in the world was ever reformed in that way. Reform must be a condition springing up from inside and the only way that you can do that is by giving the man freedom. You can lead a horse to water but you cannot make him drink. You cannot reform men from outside. You can only create conditions, the same way that you can make a tree grow.



You cannot make it grow, you can only create conditions favorable to its growth, and leave nature to do the rest. So with men. You can only create conditions, conditions under which the spirit of God can have play.





(December 13th, 1916)

## ADDRESSES

---

I. By HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

*(In reply to the welcome of the Club)*

II. By CAPTAIN THE HON. RUPERT GUINNESS

*(On the Navy's Need of Men)*

---

I. HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

IT is not an easy task for me to find adequate language in which to express my very deep and real feelings for the very kind and generous reception which you have given to me. I was always told that when I landed in Canada I should receive a generous welcome, but nothing I heard on the other side of the Atlantic led me to expect the reception which I am now actually receiving. Yet I feel that this reception is not in any sense only a welcome to me, but that it is an expression of what is uppermost in the hearts and minds of all of you, that my visit here gives you an opportunity of welcoming a representative of His Majesty the King and of showing and proving again what has often been proven before, your loyalty and your devotion and affection for Great Britain and the English King.

It has fallen to my lot to come amongst you at a grave and difficult period of our history; a period when we have to accustom ourselves from day to day, and almost from hour to hour, to conditions and changes which none of us could possibly have contemplated; but we can see how, during the course of the nearly two and a half years which have elapsed since the outbreak of this great war, those somewhat sentimental ties which bound us together as an Empire have now been more and more strongly cemented, so that we are now truly and

closely bound together in bonds which never will be broken. This war may be, probably has been a matter largely of calculation; in some places, possibly of miscalculation; but we must recognize that we as an Empire were by no manner of means prepared for this great struggle. We were peace-loving, hard-working and industrious. We saw no necessity for war. I say this not in any spirit of recrimination or of crying over mistakes which may have been made, but we had not made those preparations for war. We have no doubt learned a great deal more than we knew before about these things, and the warning ought not to be disregarded. It should receive more and more attention. It took Germany years and years to prepare for this war. Even at this period their devotion, their conservation of resources and the attention they pay to the most minute details in preparing for the struggle, is plain to all. But however complete and thorough those preparations may have been, we have learned, I think, clearly and distinctly that there is one thing in which Germany has made a great miscalculation. No doubt it was all arranged according to the German war books that Great Britain being a pleasure-loving and decadent race, the signal had but to be given and she would be left isolated. Her sons and daughters would take the earliest possible opportunity of breaking away from her. Once and for all any ideas of that sort have been dispelled. It must never be forgotten that when Great Britain went into this war she had certainly no legal right, or no claim, or no power of calling upon the great Dominions to send a single man or use a single cent in the prosecution of the war. I say she had no legal right, and she had no power of enforcing that right. Luckily she needed neither, but we in England at that crisis knew that the very moment the signal was given the war in which Great Britain had embarked was your war, and you would make it part of a British Empire war. Out of all the horror and misery which has been entailed by this war we must look for some good to come; and certainly what we have seen in the splendid support which has been afforded the British Empire throughout its wide Dominions, has not only been of incalculable value in the prosecution of the war, but will stand as a landmark in the history of the British Empire.



We have read to-day with a certain amount of interest an item of news regarding certain proposals which have been made by Germany. I can very well appreciate the spirit in which you take it. It may afford the historian of the future some opportunity for research to try to discover what was in the minds of the proposers at that precise moment. But for all of us who are men engaged in the everyday business of life, I do not think we need to trouble to give either our time or our attention to any minute investigation as to the extent or nature of those proposals. This war has been forced upon us; forced upon us against our will. We were sincere in our attempt to keep peace, and we shall not sheathe the sword until we gain the peace which is of our making. There is scarcely a home which has not already felt the effect of this war. There are vacant places which never can be filled. Heavy as those sacrifices have been in the past, we are going to prosecute this war until we can obtain a peace which will prevent such an outbreak against civilization or humanity ever occurring again. We are fighting for a great cause and for a great principle. We are fighting not for territorial acquisition, but that we may secure a peace which will be honorable and permanent. The temper of the British Empire is becoming clearer every day. I hope that I may for one moment make an allusion to what has taken place in England, what is going on now at this moment. Possibly what is taking place in England now marks one of the greatest epochs in our history. It has been said, probably rightly and truly said with respect to the government of Great Britain, that she does not love coalitions. I do not know whether she was particularly fond of the coalition which was in force up to a few days ago, but it is clear to everyone that the Government which now has control of the destinies of the country of Great Britain is not a coalition but a national government, a national government in the truest sense of the word, not only in word but in deed. Although I have no means of knowing any better than anybody else here, yet judging by what one knows of the feeling and temper in England, I am quite confident that that government will find itself backed by all of the best and strongest forces in Great Britain, and that that Government will have a direct mandate from the people of Great Britain

to prosecute the war with the greatest vigor and determination until those ends are attained which we all have in view. That, gentlemen, is the condition of England to-day, and although I have only spent a very few weeks in Canada so far, I have seen and heard quite enough to know that that is the spirit which is permeating Canada as well.

It is difficult to find quite the precise and adequate language in which to convey to an audience of this nature what the real feeling in England is with regard to Canada. You all know that there is a genuine feeling of sympathy; but when my appointment was announced the most remarkable feature in the situation was how, wherever I went, in whatever sections of the community, from the highest to the lowest, man after man asked me to convey to you what our real feelings are with regard to this great struggle, and not only with regard to this struggle but with regard to the real relationship which exists between Canada and Great Britain. I cannot translate that into any set phrases, but I can say that it is one of real, deep, genuine personal regard, based not only on an interchange of ideas between the Government of Great Britain and this country, but upon a real and true communion of the souls and minds of the people as a whole and at large. We are standing shoulder to shoulder fighting for a great cause, seeing our best and dearest perish, and all the misery war entails; and those common sacrifices and mutual losses tend to strengthen the bonds and ties which exist between us. I know what Canada has done and I am sure there is the same determination here to spare no effort in order to attain to the victory we all have in view. We are determined that we shall not cease until we secure that victory which we and we alone shall achieve.

I am very glad for many reasons to be privileged to have met you to-day on the occasion when my friend Captain Guinness is going to address this gathering. I am trying to remember, but I do not think we were in the House of Commons together for reasons over which I had no control. I had to leave the House of Commons before he joined that august body, but I know the work he has done there and I know the work which he has done in connection with the Navy. I know the good work he did on the other side of the Atlantic, and since



he has been here I have heard of the admirable work he is doing here in the way of recruiting. No doubt we all realize that although very little is said about the Navy, we are badly in need of recruits. We want them and we want the right men, and whatever criticism there may be of this Department, yet we must all agree that when men are wanted the Admiralty have done the right thing; for they have sent the right man to the right place to get the right men. I am sure that for the support which you have already afforded Captain Guinness in his recruiting campaign the Admiralty is deeply grateful; and when he returns, that contribution which Canada has made to the Imperial Navy through his action will, I am sure, be one not only of real value to the Navy but will do a great deal toward cementing the ties which exist between the two countries. Captain Guinness has been most successful in his mission, and I am sure that all those who join the Navy will never regret the action they have taken in doing so.

Gentlemen, thank you for having listened to me, and for the reception which you have given me. The President has said that he hoped that this would not be my last visit to the Canadian Club of Montreal. Well, gentlemen, I am sorry that I cannot make any definite engagement, for it seems to me that Canada is an extremely large place and five years a comparatively short time. My engagement list is already growing with considerable rapidity, but certainly if you will give me the opportunity and will send the invitation to me I shall make a point of coming to you again as soon as you will want to have me.

I can only say that it is my intention and hope to throw myself heart and soul into the prosecution of the war in the first instance, and when the time comes that this great struggle will be brought to a conclusion, I hope to have the privilege and pleasure of identifying myself with the future happiness and prosperity of Canada.

## II. CAPTAIN THE HON. RUPERT GUINNESS

It is indeed a privilege to speak to such a grand gathering as this which has come to hear Your Excellency and to welcome you. It is indeed kind of you to introduce me, sir, in the manner you have. When one is speaking to such an influ-

ential gathering as this, one feels the need of an introduction, when one has some small corner of the work of this vast war, and wishes to appeal for its consideration.

You have been told that I am to address you on the needs of the Navy in personnel. I think in doing so I can scarcely begin my address better than by trying to give you some idea of what the personnel in the Navy consisted of a few days after the outbreak of the war.

Up to a few years ago, the personnel of the Navy was chiefly recruited as boys and trained from boys upwards. Some fifteen or sixteen years ago Lord Selborne started a form of reserve—the Royal Fleet Reserve. The Royal Fleet Reserve were short service men. They served four or five years and then remained on the Reserve something like eight years, and therefore they were a very considerable number at the outbreak of the war. Behind that again was an older reserve, but still in some ways not such an efficient one, because they were not so specially trained. This was the Royal Navy Reserve. This consisted of every sort of professional sailor, from the captains of the great liners crossing the Atlantic to the fishermen and yacht hands that worked around our Coast. Every sort of man who worked upon the sea and had qualifications for service in our merchant ships was included in this Reserve. Then, just a little more than thirteen years ago, Lord Selborne started the Naval Volunteer Reserve, of which I am the Senior Officer. That force, in the case of the London division, consisted of such men as solicitors' clerks, stock brokers' clerks, assistants in shops, and every sort and kind who in their spare time worked and learned to make themselves useful to the fleet. They were not always able to take every advantage of opportunities to go away to sea for cruises, but they were given opportunities to do so, to cruise for a fortnight or a month. That completes the list of reserves in England at the outbreak of the war. The whole of those reserves mobilized in the most remarkable manner in a short space of time. Most of the men did not wait until they received their official summons but paid their own way to the depots where they knew they would be required. In fact, the congestion at the depots was so great that many of the reserves had to be sent back home to find them accommoda-



tion for a short while. The numbers of those reserves were probably something like 150,000 men. Now the fleet of course consists of vessels, which you must have or you cannot put men into them. The fleet as it stood at the beginning of the war did not require the whole of those reserves; but England is the greatest shipbuilding country in the world, and at the beginning of the war there were many vessels being built for foreign countries over which we had the claim of being able to take them for our service in case of need. Then innumerable different services which would augment the efficiency of the fleet came into existence. It must be known to all of you that the Germans soon began their submarine campaign and that of course brought into demand certain new services. The fishing fleet of England almost entirely had to be mobilized, to go fishing not for fish but for something else, and I am glad to think they have been pretty successful. I do not suppose the Germans will rest there. We may have to combat any sort of new device they may find, but for the moment everything is going smoothly, and during the two years of war the fishing fleet has succeeded in stopping a great part of the ravages which the German submarines would otherwise have made. Then one has to realize that a fighting fleet has to have an enormous number of auxiliaries in the form of merchant vessels, because every fighting ship has to be coaled, provisioned and ammunitioned. The result is a vast fleet attending on the fighting fleet. And we cannot disable our merchant service because it is as essential to the prosecution of the war as the very Navy itself. In fact one can scarcely draw a line between them. There is no use having a fleet if you do not have your commerce to protect. We should starve in England and you would not be able to export your commerce. It is therefore essential that the merchant service be not robbed. The result was that the Admiralty, having had previous experience with the reserves, came to the conclusion that the man who worked on shore, the same class of human material as makes our present armies so efficient, could very rapidly be converted into use for our ships. We had then a vast personnel at the beginning of the war, 150,000 men very well trained. Well, it is easy to dilute a vast force if you do it gradually. You have to take some of the men

out of non-commissioned ships, make them the nucleus of the crew of a newly launched vessel, and put some raw material to fill up the required number. Therefore the Admiralty have come to the conclusion that it was best to use short service men, men taken on in exactly the same way as your soldiers. As soon as we began to organize the community in England it was obvious that the flow of men to the Royal Navy would soon cease. We got an Act of Parliament not long ago which enabled us to make every man into a soldier who was not being retained by the State in what it considered absolutely essential to the life of the community. It was therefore very difficult to see where we should get the men from unless we took them from among those who were potential soldiers. I was therefore sent to Canada. The Canadian Government very generously and kindly offered a force to the Admiralty of Canadians from the Royal Navy, the Canadian Volunteer Force Division. They will be paid like your Canadian soldiers, have the same separation allowance, be under the Patriotic Fund, and so on. They will proceed overseas immediately on enrollment and be trained in England in one of the three great ancient Depots. So far the machinery for recruiting has only been set up, and up till now Montreal has not produced, I believe I am right in saying, half as many men as Winnipeg, because you are lacking in machinery; but that machinery will soon be in operation.

I want everyone here to give me assistance by bringing to the notice of your friends that men are wanted. They really are wanted, and we hope they will offer their services as soon as possible in that way. I cannot describe in detail life on board ship. I have no doubt you know about it as well as I do. At any rate you are in touch with those who can tell you about it. However, tell your friends that men are wanted under those circumstances. We are looking for five thousand Canadians. Admiral Jellicoe is anxious to welcome them into his ships. Those men have shown on land the spirit which will make them into good sailors, and they are able to learn all about it very rapidly. In three months' time a raw recruit will find himself with the old service men in one of the greatest battleships we have on sea; because in those ships it is quite possible to have, in small numbers, men



who are not fully trained, men who only know the one small job, and all the time they are being trained while serving in that ship. They are being of use at the same time. It is different from the soldier who must go in a regiment where the whole battalion must be equally efficient. If you put in a small number of men they can be trained while they are being of use. That is the point you must make to your friends, that this new form of recruiting is one for which they are wanted; and I am perfectly sure that Montreal will take its place with the other large centers of the Empire in helping to answer the requirements of the Navy.





(December 18th, 1916)

## SOME OF CANADA'S PROBLEMS

---

By J. S. DENNIS

---

I APPRECIATE the privilege you are giving me to-day of addressing you on the subject of some of Canada's problems. I accepted the kind invitation of your secretary to deliver this address with some nervousness, because after spending the past forty years of my life in Western Canada, I felt some diffidence in making my first appearance in the East with an attempt to discuss these problems in the financial and commercial centre of the Dominion. In Western Canada, however, we have an idea that the bull's-eye of our Dominion target is located on our broad plains, and certainly a large part of the solution of some of our present problems must be dependent on development in the West.

I realize the immensity of these problems and that they can only be presented to-day in a very fragmentary manner, also that some of them have already been discussed at your meetings; but I feel justified in presenting some of them to you again because it is particularly fitting that they should be discussed at meetings of the Canadian Club, an organization Dominion-wide in its activities, whose name carries with it the responsibility for consideration of our national questions, together with an effort to assist in their solution.

Beginning with Confederation, Canada has, from time to time, been faced by serious problems. Commencing with that of the consolidation of the then scattered Crown colonies into one Dominion, we then had to face the acquirement from the Hudson's Bay Company of that great central portion, now comprising the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta; and later to undertake, what was then looked upon as a visionary dream, the linking together of all parts of the

Dominion by the construction of a Transcontinental Railway. Later on again, we have had the problem of the construction of additional transcontinental railways; the question of immigration; the improvement of our interior waterways; the serious questions of tariff, and inter-provincial differences.

Fortunately, all these problems were met and more or less successfully solved, with the result that prior to the war, Canada was progressing rapidly and the future looked bright. Immediately prior to the war, we had a period of great prosperity and expansion, resulting from the great railway construction programme throughout Canada, and the coincident federal, provincial, municipal, corporate and private expenditures, all over the Dominion. We also had our greatest immigration movement during that period, resulting in an increase of our population by two and a half million people in the ten-year term 1905-1915. This immigration, as shown by the Dominion Government returns, originated as follows:

Great Britain .....	973,034
United States .....	875,876
Other countries.....	680,394

Our prosperity during that period, together with the large immigration movement brought about a somewhat inflated condition, and when war broke out we were face to face with a check in our development. The war relieved this situation and removed the unemployment difficulty, by the enlistment of a large number of the men who had come from Great Britain during the previous period, and were out of employment in our cities, towns and villages.

Our present great problem is the winning of the war. It is not my intention to deal at any length with this phase of the subject, because Canada's share in the war is well known to every person present. We have no cause to be ashamed of the share we are taking as part of the Empire in the present world-wide struggle. It was, of course, our duty to do our share, or more than our share, in helping win the fight in which the Empire is engaged; and the manner in which that responsibility has been met is now a matter of world-wide knowledge, and has brought to Canada, as was lately so aptly stated by Lord Shaughnessy, "senior partnership in the firm of Empire."



In addition, the part played by our men in the fighting line has, for all time, differentiated the name "Canadian" from that of "American" with which it was previously so often confused.

The war has also brought prosperity to Canada through the large expenditures for munitions and supplies and the increased prices realised for all our food stuffs. It also removed our serious problem of unemployment and during the past year a shortage of labor has been experienced in many branches of industrial and agricultural activity.

The war, however, has not removed certain serious problems, and my special object to-day is to endeavor to put before you, as briefly as possible, some of these problems, together with suggestions as to steps which should be taken now to meet them. Destructive criticism is one of the easiest things that can be indulged in, and unless followed by constructive suggestion, is a waste of time. I therefore propose to suggest remedies where criticism is offered.

Our most pressing problems, as I see them, are *Colonization*, *Returned Soldiers*, and *Development*, and dealing with them in that order, I will very briefly attempt to summarize the situation and offer solutions.

Occupying a territory greater in area than the United States, Canada has a population less than 8,000,000. Possessed of natural resources in our forests, fisheries, mines and vast unoccupied area of agricultural land, we are importing quantities of manufactured articles and food stuffs which should be produced at home.

In Canada, we have an unsound economical condition in the distribution of our population throughout the whole of the Dominion. In Western Canada, with a total population in the four Western Provinces of less than the population of the Province of Quebec, we find the unsound distribution between the urban and rural communities of 43 per cent. urban and 57 per cent. rural. This unsound condition also exists to a greater or less extent in the older provinces, and the distribution in the Dominion as a whole to-day is about 45 per cent. urban and 55 per cent. rural. These facts are, of themselves, sufficient to indicate the pressing necessity for increasing our population as a whole and properly distributing

the increase, so as to correct this unsound division between the producer and consumer. In speaking of "Colonization," I am using the term in the broad sense of not only obtaining and putting the proper man on the land, but also in colonizing the proper labor, whether skilled or unskilled, in his proper place. It is unreasonable to expect that the agricultural population in the older provinces can be increased with great rapidity, because they have no large areas available for settlement which do not involve the tedious process of land clearing before cultivation can be undertaken; but in all these older provinces, there are large numbers of unoccupied farms which should be re-colonized, so as to increase the percentage of agricultural producing population. In the Western Provinces, however, where Nature has blessed the Dominion with vast areas of the finest agricultural land, which can be put under cultivation without any preliminary clearing, every effort must be exerted to increase the agricultural population and correct the present unsound distribution of population.

Analysis of the two and a half million people added to our population during the period 1905-1915 proves that only a small proportion were looking for land, and that the vast number of the men, especially those from Great Britain, were seeking employment as laborers, either skilled or unskilled. Our effort in our future colonization campaign must be to obtain a greater proportion of immigrants to take up and cultivate our land and to discourage the immigration of laborers, either skilled or unskilled, to any greater extent than can be readily assimilated through extension of our industrial development.

Dealing with the problem of our returned soldiers, it must be remembered that all our men will come back from the Front feeling that they are entitled to take up their old positions, or to be provided with work the moment they are mustered out of the Army. It must be recognized, however, that a large majority of these men will be unfitted by their experiences in this awful war to take up civil life for some time after they return, but that fact will not justify refusal to employ them.

In addition to our own returned soldiers, we must look forward to a great influx of men who are serving in the British



Army. After the South African war, where some 300,000 men were engaged, the British Government statistics show that within one year after the close of the war, 100,000 of these men emigrated overseas. What may we expect from four or five million men that Great Britain now has serving in her army? It is admitted on all hands that the life they have been leading will unsettle these men for return to the office or the workshop, and that their desire will be to take up an outdoor life, and it must be recognized that the name which has been made by the Canadian troops in the fighting line, as well as that made by the Australians and New Zealanders will have an influence in encouraging men of the British Army to emigrate to the Overseas Dominions that have produced men who have made such a name for themselves on the battle front.

It is true that the transportation facilities available will be taxed to their fullest to bring back our own men promptly, and that limitations in these facilities will retard the movement of others for a certain time, but it may be expected that, if a large emigration-passenger business develops from Great Britain or Northern Europe, tramp ships now engaged in transporting munitions and other war supplies will be ready to engage in the emigration-passenger business, and bring over large numbers of emigrants.

The question of emigration from Europe is one with regard to which nobody can speak definitely, but if we are to be guided by history, we may expect that following this, as all other European wars, there will be a marked movement of people to the American Continent. It is true, no doubt, that all European countries engaged in the war will exert every possible effort to keep their men at home to rehabilitate conditions; but it is not possible for any of these countries to enact or enforce any more stringent emigration laws than those existing prior to the outbreak of the war, and yet in the face of those restrictions, the emigration from Europe to America amounted to over 1,000,000 per annum for many years before war broke out. We may, therefore, reasonably expect that in addition to our own returned soldiers, and the men who will come from the British Army, we shall have a movement of people from Northern Europe.

The United States is the source from which our greatest

immigration may be looked for after the war. The population there is expanding rapidly and opportunities for obtaining cheap land or employment decreasing correspondingly. The openings in Canada and the nationhood which has come to us through our share in the war, will attract people from the United States, whether native born or foreign, because they are accustomed to similar methods of agriculture and similar systems of schools, taxation, currency, transportation, weights and measures, and general methods of living, and change of flag will not retard the movement of people in large numbers.

Our third problem is the matter of development. Much of our industrial, business, municipal and transportation development in Canada prior to the war was in advance of what conditions justified, and we must recognize that our great constructive development programme is at a standstill and will be "marking time" until we can materially increase and properly distribute our population.

Our railway construction programme, for instance, brought about a condition under which Canada had a greater railway mileage per capita than any other country in the world, and as far as the Western Provinces are concerned, has resulted in one mile of railway in operation for every 116.3 of total population and one mile for every 66.0 rural or producing population.

We also had an industrial development on certain lines in advance of our markets, and generally had built a superstructure on the unsound foundation of an insufficient rural population.

Since the war, in the older provinces, we have had extraordinary industrial development as the result of the manufacture of war munitions and war supplies; and our serious problem now is to consider the whole development programme, in such a way that we may readjust it to meet the conditions which will inevitably arise immediately after the war, and extend it only as justified by the expansion of our local and export markets. In the past, especially in the West, we have in many cases had unsound industrial development because it was based on the importation of raw material, while many of our vast natural resources were left undeveloped. It is, of course, economically unsound that a country like Canada, blessed as it has been by nature with all



but inexhaustible natural resources, should be importing a large percentage of her food stuffs and manufactured articles, and every effort must be exercised to correct this unsound condition.

Having presented the problems and indulged in the criticisms, I now suggest certain remedies.

First, it is absolutely necessary that the whole question of our immigration policy should receive immediate and most careful consideration, and that a proper department to handle it, irrespective of politics or salaries, should be created by the Dominion Government.

In this connection, it is suggested that the Dominion Government should call a conference of representatives of the Provincial Governments, Transportation Companies, Banks, Boards of Trade, Manufacturers' Associations, Trades and Labor Councils, Farmers' Organizations, and all those interested in the expansion and proper distribution of our population. This conference would, without doubt, result in the preparation of a clear cut programme to be followed by the proper department in solving this problem.

With reference to the immigration from the United States and Northern Europe, we may reasonably expect that a large proportion will be desirous of taking up land, and every possible arrangement must be made in advance to provide that these people are given every opportunity to acquire the kind of land they want and take up agricultural pursuits without delay.

With regard to our returned soldiers and those of the British Army who will come to Canada, arrangements must be made now to take proper care of them. The generally accepted idea that any large proportion of our soldiers, or those of the British Army, will desire to take up farms, is, in my opinion, a fallacy. It must be remembered that only a small proportion of our own men have gone from the farm to the army, and this applies also to the men of the British Army. A census recently made of the men of our Army who have so far returned from the Front shows that only about 2 per cent. have expressed a wish to take up farming. However, steps should be taken now to enable such returned soldiers as may wish to do so to take up land and engage in

agriculture, and any arrangements made must include provision for giving a large proportion of these men agricultural training and financial assistance if they are to succeed.

We must expect that as far as the men of the army are concerned, the larger proportion will be looking for employment in our cities, towns and villages, and to meet this problem it is necessary that we should have a Dominion-wide labor bureau, which would make a careful labor survey of the Dominion and would be in a position, when the proper time comes, to direct the labor to those points where it can be assimilated; otherwise, we shall have a serious congestion of unemployed at certain points and a shortage of a certain kind of labor where it is needed.

Our development problem is a many-sided one. It includes the re-adjustment of industrial activity in the East, now engaged in making war munitions and war supplies, so as to take up something of a permanent industrial character after the war; and it also includes a comprehensive study of our natural resources, so that new outlets for present products, and reliable data regarding the location and character of our resources, may be provided and new channels and proper methods and opportunities for their development indicated.

To meet the situation, it is suggested that the Dominion Government should forthwith undertake a complete industrial survey of the Dominion and be prepared to follow it up by endeavoring to interest the men and capital in industrial development necessary to utilise our natural resources, and provide a market for both skilled and unskilled labor.

It must be remembered that prior to the war large sums of money were obtained from Great Britain, France and Northern Europe for our development programme, and that we are now shut off from that market and will be shut off for many years after the War. We must, therefore, look to our neighbors south of the international boundary, who have derived such immense financial benefit from the war, to provide the money needed to continue our development programme; and steps to advise them thoroughly as to the opportunities for investment in Canada should, of course, be included in the development survey.

The problems which I have endeavored to put before



you in this brief way can only be solved by united effort, and success can only be hoped for when all the interests, dominion, provincial, corporate and individual, recognize their importance and determine to do their full share in bringing them to a successful issue.

No greater present work can be undertaken by the Canadian Club throughout Canada than a study of these problems, and the determination, as clubs or individual members, to do all in their power to help in their solution, and thus prove their appreciation of the new position occupied by the Canadian nation in the family of Empire, and the additional responsibility that has come to us all from the world-wide significance now attached to the name "Canadian."





(January 8th, 1917)

## SOME FEATURES OF NATIONAL SERVICE

---

By C. A. MAGRATH

---

**W**HAT is national service? It is the opposite of the extreme individualism which has been running rampant in recent years. It is right that each one of us should strike a balance—placing on one side what Canada has done for us, and on the other what we are doing for Canada. I do not mean the generous giving of wealth alone; but that more potent factor, the use of our brains, in furthering the country's good, especially in a time like this, when the ball is at our feet. Have we as citizens any ambition other than for our individual advancement? Have we any collective ambition for the advancement of the State? When we have, then we shall have enrolled ourselves in national service.

Preparedness is no new subject. It was preached nineteen hundred years ago, and in language that cannot be equalled in effectiveness to-day. You remember the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, how the former had their lamps trimmed and filled with oil. They were prepared and theirs was the reward.

As you are aware, in the early part of June last, the Minister of Trade and Commerce issued what is known as his "Call to Action." It was a message freighted with importance to the people of Canada. It was based upon the fact that we are in the midst of a great world crisis, greater the world has never seen, and that the pendulum has swung away out into space—far from its ordinary oscillations, far beyond any point it has ever approached before, and that of necessity it must return, and during the period following this war pass to the other extreme, before adjusting itself again to its ordin-

ary movements, indicating the fat and lean periods to be found in a cycle of years with the world in a normal condition.

Sir George Foster, in his "Call to Action" substantially took the position that Canada's business is made up of the aggregate of the individual businesses within Canada, and that these men responsible for the country's industry are best fitted to say what should be done and how it should be done, so as to put our house in order for the unprecedented conditions that must of necessity follow the ultra-abnormal situation in which we find ourselves to-day. It was his desire, as clearly stated in his "call to action" that our business men should seriously take up the country's business problems, seriously engage in a study of them, as well as of the opportunities promised by the new era which must follow the war. In other words, he wished them to get together in units of industries, to study, and study, and study, and then to come forward in convention and give the Government through him their best judgment as to what Canada should be doing now—not to-morrow—so as to make some adequate preparation for the future.

No one will question the right of Sir George Foster to call upon citizens of Canada to give the country the best that is in them in this period of peril. Did I say peril? What evidence have we of any peril? We would require something stronger than those binoculars of which we heard so much in Ottawa shortly after the opening of the war, in order to make out any sign of peril on this continent. On the contrary, all evidences are those of prosperity, and unbridled prosperity at that. The country's financial statements show it from time to time, it is to be seen on our streets—everywhere. It is the old story of Thomas, the doubting apostle, who had to see to believe. In other words, we must break through the ice before we can be made to realize the danger. And yet, are we not one of the participants in this struggle? Belgium, our ally, likewise is one. I am not going to recount what has happened in Belgium, or to many of her women and children, but perhaps the Hun would be more considerate of our women and children if he got loose amongst us. Perhaps!

Let us return then to Sir George Foster's proposed convention and follow it through to the finish. Because it is



interesting as throwing a side light on one of the weaknesses in our democracy. First, was there any need for an investigation and study of the country's industries? I believe we must all admit there was, and there still is. In the decade preceding this war, our prosperity was handed to us through loans of millions of money by Europe for the building of the country's plant. To-day, it is war orders causing every wheel in the country to be speeded up to its utmost limit, resulting in the flooding of the country with money drawn from the sacrifices of Europe. Tomorrow, when peace is declared, what is to be? Ay, that is the question that Sir George Foster was deeply concerned about, and it is a question we should be grappling with now, unless we prefer the cold plunge through the thin ice of unpreparedness which will be our fate when we wake up to a realization of our position.

Now, gentlemen, I am only stating what has been said quite frequently. It has become a commonplace; almost, may I say, as much as the preaching of the Gospels, so vital to humanity.

My connection with the proposed convention was through a request from the Minister of Trade and Commerce, who, when leaving for England early last summer, asked me to stimulate in every possible manner interest in his "Call to Action." At once, let me confess, that I know little about the trade and commerce of Canada. That, however, did not preclude me from trying to bring together the men who do know something about it. It has, I am aware, a political side, linked up with the tariff. It has, also, however, something more fundamental than that, and represented by that hackneyed phrase, economy and efficiency. Without going into the methods adopted, beyond saying that an effort was made to interest the press in the movement, I may as well confess that I absolutely failed. Allowing a friend of mine to glance through the notes of this address, he questioned the propriety of my making such an admission. He said, 'You may have sown a few fruitful seeds. Furthermore, do not lose sight of the fact that the public have little regard for men who fail.' Gentlemen, I am of the opinion that the time is here when men appreciate those who have the courage to admit even failure. While confessing to failure, I do not

admit that it was the fault of the plan adopted by myself and a few associates. If there is any criticism a few years hence due to inactivity to-day, it will, I hold, not be charged against the outline of procedure that was carefully worked out and made available for our captains of industry.

Well, what did I find? All busy, busy, busy—some concerned about our rapidly growing tax-load, knowing that they will be severely hit in the future—a few willing to take up the subject, others indifferent, or worse still, unwilling. Some wished to know what machinery Sir George Foster had created to carry through the movement, what money he had set apart for the work. These questions merely indicated a most imperfect knowledge of the situation. If the civil authorities call out the public to help to cope with a great conflagration, are we going to refuse to take off our coats and go forward with our assistance, simply because they failed to send around automobiles in which to bring us to the trouble?

Pray, do not misunderstand me. I know as well as you do that we have strong aggressive men in our industrial life. They have pushed their heads through the crust of the business world. They, in their earlier activities, developed confidence in themselves; gradually great force came to them, but as team play had no part in their making, they as captains of industry see no necessity for it amongst themselves in furthering the national good. They are quite ready to go forward individually and give the government their views on any state issue. We are all willing to do that. If we could only pay our taxes in generous advice, this Canadian democracy would indeed be rolling in wealth. That in itself is an excellent sign—in fact, what is to be expected from vigorous people, developed in northern latitudes? And in passing may I say that Canada is several shades too cold in winter to give the best results in the production of human vigour unless we cease hermetically sealing up houses, especially the smaller ones, during our long winters, in order to keep out frost, and incidentally that which is vital to sound health—fresh air.

It is not the individual views of aggressive men our governments need (though I believe governments occasionally make the mistake of encouraging them), so much as their collective and intelligent support. We know that no two success-



ful men ever cross the same street in the same way. It is only "drifters" who do that. Individual opinions differ. Let me present the idea in this way. Suppose some great issue is under consideration by a government, and individual views of say six aggressive men are canvassed independently of each other. The results most certainly would be widely divergent, and at least five men more or less dissatisfied because their opinions had not prevailed. And an aggressive man dissatisfied can make some stir in a community. The idea is entirely undemocratic. It is only in autocracies that the one-man opinion goes. Frequently, it is based upon the views of a group of specialists, and in consequence is sound. Success demands team play. The star player in an athletic game who fails to recognize the necessity of co-operation may give brilliant exhibitions of his capacity, but for the team to win out he must play the game and not be above working with his weaker associates.

Well, Sir George Foster's proposed convention evidently has been dropped. It is true that certain interests are at work, but there has been no real swing thrown into the movement by our captains of industry, and we may find ourselves in the future very much like the unorganized community when a fire breaks out—all running hither and thither, not knowing exactly what to do, and expending energy without corresponding results. A friend of mine, whose opinion I value, in writing me about the proposed convention, said:—

"The general criticism of Canadian business which has always existed in the past has been the hit or miss way in which they conduct their affairs. Naturally, this is almost inevitable in a young country, and the United States passed through such a stage both before and immediately after the Civil War. They are not entirely free from it yet. It will doubtless be many years before Canadian business is completely established; but if the information about all sorts and kinds of projects is collected, standardized and made available, a great many of the mistakes which have been made in the past can be avoided in the future."

Gentlemen, if we lack the courage to initiate new movements for the good of the State, let us at least embrace that virtue—the genius to imitate others who have.

Had the convention taken place, two subjects, I had hoped, would receive serious consideration, namely, national statistics, and second, some plan for obtaining greater efficiency from capital and labour through a more complete understanding between the two; this latter, I appreciate, is just as important as it is difficult to work out, and that is saying a very great deal indeed. Let us, however, make no mistake about this matter. The issue between the two forces must be faced. Better understanding between capital and labour, as well as an efficient statistical service, are the *sine qua non* of the country's sound progress. One of the really outstanding men in the British Empire—Lord Cromer—a few years ago said that Canada should build up a great statistical service. He added, they say figures will prove anything, but you cannot do very much business without them.

I am aware that this is another matter in which Sir George Foster is much interested. Two years ago he appointed a commission of six members to investigate trade statistics and to report a comprehensive and co-ordinate scheme adequate to the needs of the country. The commission subsequently made a good report advising certain enlargements, but especially advising unification and the preventing of duplication, overlapping and the present system of work in large part at cross purposes. The minister of Trade and Commerce followed this up by reviving the office of Dominion Statistician, and more recently has tackled the concrete problems involved in reform as between the several departments. This work and its enlargement along proper lines ought to be pushed and pushed hard, as it is the real starting point in the sound and economical development of the country's industries. It is true, in the course of time, by evolution, we should gradually draw away from the hit or miss method of doing things, but it should be our ambition to speed up and quickly reach scientific methods. That is impossible without complete statistical information. I go further than that. I hold we should have a group of men in our statistical service whom, for lack of a better name, I will call condensers. Like our neighbours to the south of us, we appoint commissions to investigate and report upon technical subjects. Much labour is expended in bringing together a great deal of valuable material, occasion-



ally dealt with by technical writers in more or less technical language, with the result that the shelves of libraries are loaded with volumes and volumes of such reports, rarely looked into. Canada, the younger country, before embarking on any investigation, should have the bookshelves in Washington and elsewhere thoroughly searched so that if we have to carry on some special work, at least let us start where others have left off. I venture the opinion that the book of 100 pages or more on any technical subject is very seldom looked at. What then happens to these reports containing several volumes? They are dusted occasionally, and that is about all. We don't place Macaulay's History of England before the child that is just starting the subject. If I wished to popularize the Scriptures, I would employ the publicity man—the very highest type—and illuminate them in sections. In that way I believe there would in a short time be a much greater number working over the original text.

These commission reports to which I refer, both in the United States and here, still kept in cold storage, remind me of that which was a common sight on some of our macadamized roads about thirty years ago. Those of you who can go back to that period will remember seeing cords of large stones, neatly piled at various places along the side of the highway. In due course, labourers came along, and after several days of hard work each pile would be transformed into a mass of small broken stone, later on to be spread over the surface of the road wherever any repairs were necessary. We need technical condensers associated with very able publicity men, engaged in breaking up those reports, illuminating them, turning them out in readable sections, and distributing them where they will be of some service to the people. It seems to me in that respect we just stop short of completing the valuable work of some of our technical commissions.

To give you some idea of the chaos that exists in the matter of statistics, I will allude to a few instances of work carried on by our respective governments:

(1). MANUFACTURES. This country goes for five years at a stretch without a single figure relating to its manufacturing output. At the present moment, the latest statistics we have with regard to manufacturing, bear the date 1910. What use

are the figures of 1910 for the problems of 1917? There have been three years of the most rapid development in the history of the industry since 1910, followed by two years of depression, followed by another two years in an absolutely new direction created by the war.

(2). There are twenty-seven departments, Dominion and Provincial, publishing statistics with regard to industrial production. Each is doing it according to the dictates of its own sweet will. No two have the same method. It is impossible, therefore, to combine their figures, because capitalization, etc., means one thing here and another there, the year is the fiscal year here, the calendar year there. The fiscal years of our governments do not all end on the same date. In one case it is the 31st March, in others, 30th June, and still in others, the 30th September.

(3). As a sample of overlapping involved in the above, take the following. The Dominion Mines Department publishes the value of the output of Ontario brickyards in 1915 as \$1,987,478. The Ontario Department of Mines publishes the figure as \$1,468,182; the Census Office, which happens to have taken a postal census of this industry in 1915, makes the figure \$1,524,879.

In each instance, the figures are doubtless correct, but they are based upon different interpretations of output adopted by the several services.

(4). Still another case: agriculture this time. The Census Department has been estimating the acreage under wheat in Saskatchewan this year at about 6,000,000 acres. The Provincial Department of Agriculture has put it at about 6,800,000. Now, we have the actual returns of the Census taken during the past summer by the visit of an enumerator to every farm, and it appears that the acreage is 8,500,000. Wide divergence of this character exists in nearly every province.

(5). The 1911 census put the total value of the mining industry at \$122,004,932 in 1910. The annual return of the Dominion Mines Department, however, put it at \$106,823,623 for that year.

(6). But the most extraordinary spectacle is afforded by our trade statistics. Once a month the Customs Department



issues a 400 or 500 page volume on the trade and navigation of the country. A couple of weeks later, the Trade and Commerce Department takes the same figures and republishes them from a trade point of view, with a number of analyses, etc. Similarly, at the end of each year, we have two enormous volumes, each telling the same story, though in a slightly different way, and as if this were not enough, the Year Book of the Census Office tells it over again to the tune of a couple of hundred pages.

Not all of this would disappear by amalgamation because there is some difference in viewpoint, but undoubtedly 30 or 40 per cent. would disappear and the country be saved so much, as well as having a greatly strengthened organization for purveying this very necessary information. At present we have three distinct departmental organizations engaged in the analysis and presentation of foreign trade statistics. A person wishing to be informed as to the trade in, say, fish or hay, may apply to three departments and get an independent reply from each.

I have only touched the fringe of national statistics, but trust you will conclude that I have made out a good case. If you feel that I have, pray endeavor to give the movement some real swing forward by getting the press interested. We must realize that in these strenuous times the Government cannot be expected to keep issues other than war well up in the forefront, unless the people through the press make it quite clear that certain problems must be promptly attacked and attacked with vigour.

Now, may I say a few words about capital and labour. Because it is a most difficult subject, that is no reason we should be afraid to discuss it. Every serious discussion of a problem may throw some light on it and shorten the distance to its final solution. In a few words, what has been the situation between capital and labour? Has it not developed largely into one of distrust on both sides? Who has been preaching any sane doctrine as to the fair and reasonable return for man's energy? At one end of the scale there have been flagrant cases of getting away with everything in sight within the limit of the law, cases against which it seems no law existed, and the holding of the operator at the other end down to a

minimum of return. Trade unionism was the outcome. There was a time when I was opposed to unionism but my views in that respect have since changed. Occasionally, however, unionism out-Herods Herod, with the plain people sandwiched in between. Labour and capital are the counterparts of each other. The one cannot exist without the other. The best interests of both demand that they should work in harmony together. There is still much for unions to do. While they largely fix the rates of wages for different trades, no account is taken of the efficient and inefficient, as both are practically treated alike—that is, there are no certificated grades—no encouragement to push to some higher standard in a craft with a correspondingly higher wage. All our problems reduce themselves to questions of human energy, the efficiency of the operative.

Wherein, generally speaking, have our manufacturing classes in Canada requiring skilled labour taken any serious interest in the technical training of their younger and inexperienced employees? These, doubtless, receive a good shop training, but they need much more than that. We have at the present time in cold storage, Dr. J. W. Robertson's exhaustive report on Industrial and Technical Training. This is the time for our captains of industry to get it out, and in conjunction with the responsible leaders of our labor unions, employ their able brains in developing a workable plan for breeding up a well-educated class of mechanics in Canada; in which, in the course of a few years, we would have a system of promotion through examination before boards constituted by the two forces, capital and labour.

In leaving this question of preparedness, and the failure of Sir George Foster's convention to materialize, what has been the burden of my remarks? National efficiency. That demands national service from the citizen—more time taken by the best brains in the country from their individual activities and given to the State—more team play amongst such men—more evidence that we who are remaining at home are working overtime in order to make Canada a country of greater opportunity in the period following the war. In that way, we will show our men in Flanders that we are doing our bit—in that way we will encourage them—in that way we will



bring Canada to the attention of others who will come to us seeking greater opportunity than they possessed before taking part in this world struggle.

We are a democratic people. We are strong for the liberty of the individual. Democracies in this age do not want war. But if democracies run counter to autocracy, don't you think we had better push aside some of our democratic notions which I hold are undemocratic? To wait and see what the people think before governments act, in peace time may be sound. But in times of war we sacrifice many of the lives of our noblest men by such a policy. It has taken Britain fully two years to bring the man power of England and Scotland into action. True democracy, it seems to me, should always be ready to adjust itself promptly to changed conditions, be they climatic or otherwise, unless we wish to freeze to death or be strangled by aggressive militarism. My view is that the man who has equal rights with me to go to the polls and have a voice in the government of the country, has equal responsibilities with me, and under ultra-abnormal conditions should instantly be prepared to take to the trenches or any place else where his country's needs demand, as indicated by the Government for which he is in part responsible. On humanitarian grounds alone, that is essential in order to bring quickly into play the full strength of the country's man power, thereby supporting those who have nobly jumped into the breach at the call of national trouble. However, I am not suggesting conscription in Canada simply because we, like our sister democracies, failed to do the necessary spade work in advance. The time I fear is too short to make a success of it; though, frankly, I believe, under existing conditions, in the absolute control of all the forces within the state, by the state, for the good of the state.

We complain about lack of interest in some particular locality and the indifference elsewhere, but do we realize that we reap what we sow? To what extent have we ever attempted to develop a strong sense of citizenship in our people? A crisis arises and we fail in some quarters to get results that suit our views, and we become extremely critical and say very disagreeable things, when all the time it is probably the outcome of our own indifference in the past. If we really

believe in British ideals, and if we believe they are worth fighting for, don't you think we should in the past couple of decades have given more of our time to their discussion, especially amongst those who are neither British born nor the descendants of such? However, that would have been regarded as quite too idealistic, and, furthermore, we had not the time to spare. We, some way, appeared to think, stupidly enough, that the mantle of British citizenship by some miracle would cause the individual to become charged to the marrow of his bones with our ideals. From this time henceforth let us always remember that that which we may some day wish to reap, we must meanwhile sow, and sow well in advance.

To-day the cry should be for thrift and still greater thrift. The General Manager of the Bank of Montreal, at the annual meeting of his bank a few weeks ago, said: "Thrift is overdue but can be started forthwith," and he referred to "those who are living in the paradise of the unwise." Do we appreciate that that solemn warning has come to us out from one of the great institutions of the country? Have our ears and minds dissolved partnership? Are we to be disciples of the doubting Thomas, only to be able to scent trouble when it grips us? What we need as never before is some unity amongst the members of our Press, to have them turn their batteries upon the public and hammer home a few fundamental truths. To that end I would like to see our Canadian Clubs—non-political organizations—make an effort to get our press united in a campaign of thrift. And why should your Club not inaugurate the movement? Take the idea home with you, gentlemen. Think it over.

I am aware from statements appearing in the Press within the past few days that the Minister of Finance anticipates some movement of the kind at an early date. That, however, need not interfere with any spade work that you meanwhile may do. Again, I say, gentlemen, we want some leadership from our captains of industry—greater evidences of national service. Canada is doing magnificently in this war, and our women are in the forefront of the movement. Our people of means are giving freely, but there is a western slogan now in use, that is the only real measure of that kind of sacrifice. It is, "Give until it hurts." And that slogan might well be



adopted and applied at this time in a campaign of thrift. "Save until it hurts." This is no time to squander even a farthing. But few men indeed can look inwardly and honestly say that they are free from reproach in that respect. May I make a suggestion? Let club men adopt very simple and inexpensive meals in their clubs. This may strike some of you as trivial. What is the use of asking individuals here and there to deny themselves small luxuries? Why not make a bold appeal to the whole nation to economize? Well, that is being done, but what effect will it have if we rest there? Do you imagine for a moment that a nation unaccustomed to thrift—as we undoubtedly are—will be converted in a moment by a general appeal? That sort of thing is spectacular but ineffective. No. National thrift must begin with the individual, and the appeal, to be effective, must be to the individual. Each one of us must have it hammered into him as a concrete fact. Every man who grasps, and accepts, the idea that by personal self-denial he is helping his country to win the war, becomes at once the centre of an ever-widening influence. The leaven of thrift must work outwards from the individual to the crowd, not from the crowd to the individual. A shrewd manufacturer with a new appliance to put on the market does not content himself with a general announcement of the fact. If he did, his business would not last twenty-four hours. He keeps hammering at the public until the merits of his idea take root. He advertises, and advertises, and advertises. Above all, he goes after the individual, knowing full well that every man convinced is a conscious or unconscious missionary; that in the last analysis success with the crowd can only be gained through success with the individual.

It seems quite unnecessary to say anything as to the need of thrift. It is thrift, saturated through the very system of the Scotchman that has placed him in the front rank of the human forces of the world. There is no national tonic to equal thrift. It is the very sure rudder to carry us individually and collectively through periods of great uncertainty. Thrift combines duty with profit. We know that commonplace saying: "A dollar saved is a dollar made." The State needs vast sums of money for carrying on this war. Let the

people save and lend to the State. Let the State pay interest to the Canadian people instead of to people in other countries.

Finally, gentlemen, may I draw your attention to this fact, that this year is the semi-centennial of our Canadian confederacy. Fifty years ago we had a group of Canadians with great vision and vast courage, a group of men that any country would be proud to call her sons, and my vision is that if we hold to our stern duty in this struggle, Canada will forge well into the forefront of our Empire of Nations. To-day, there is talk of holding an Imperial Conference at an early date to discuss war matters. To that there can be no objection. Why should there not be held in our Dominion of Canada, towards the end of this—our fiftieth year of organic union—a gathering of the clans in which representatives of all political parties from each unit in the Empire would be represented? Then there could be taken up in a statesmanlike way the question of confederacy of our Empire and the obligations it imposes. Standing alone or in common with others, Canada hereafter must continue to assume world obligations. There is no need for alarm amongst us if statesmen come together, and especially if it is insisted that all political clothes be left at home. The stage and occasion would be most fitting. We have passed out into the world as a people who are prepared to fight and to suffer for humanity and right. The spirit of our people is for fair play. That is our safeguard, and in the conference of the units of our Empire that will always prevail. We may hold minor differences as to ways and means. We are all fighting side by side in this great world struggle, and we will be found standing side by side in peace times for the maintenance and preservation of our best traditions. I therefore believe that Canada stands on the threshold of a great career, not only amongst the nations of the world, but as the agency in bringing the British Empire and the great Republic to the south of us into such close and intimate relations in the future as will mean much to the advancement of civilization.



(January 15th, 1917)

## MILITARY PENSIONS

---

By COLONEL R. H. LABATT

---

I AM going to speak to you to-day on a very dry subject, but one in which we are all, as Canadians, deeply interested, because we want to do what is right by the man going to the front, and because we have to foot the bill.

The military definition of war is the means which one nation adopts to impose its will upon another. Germany is attempting to impose her will on Great Britain and her allies, therefore Canada, as part of the British Empire, is at war. Firstly, because she is part of the British Empire; secondly and probably more than for any other reason, because she is determined to secure for herself and her children existence under that form of democratic government which we are all enjoying to-day.

On August 4th, 1914, Canada called for volunteers; six weeks afterwards 33,000 men were equipped and on their way to the old country. This was done thanks to the organization called the militia of Canada, in which a great many men in Montreal are interested and have been interested all their lives. There are other people, I am sorry to say, throughout Canada, who have ridiculed the militia and talked about the fellows going around in khaki "swaggering around," ridiculing the idea of men drilling at night, and saying that a business man had no business to waste his time on such things as the militia. Well, gentlemen, there is not a man in Canada can say that to-day. In Montreal here all the militiamen—men who have taken a prominent part in the militia all their lives, have either gone to the front or stayed at home and done their military work here; and the man that stays in Canada and

does his work is at the front just as much as the man in the firing line.

From the 4th of August, 1914, to the present time, Canada has recruited 380,000 men approximately, and of that number some 290,000 men are over in England or in France. Canada's ultimate aim is to recruit an army of 500,000 men, or practically seven per cent. of our population. This will give you some idea of the amount of money that we, as Canadians, shall have to pay out in pensions, and the immense amount of work that we, as Pension Commissioners, shall have to deal with. If we take an estimate of 300,000 men, at the end of the war, we shall be paying out in pensions \$21,000,000. If we take an estimate of 400,000 men we shall be paying out \$28,000,000. This, gentlemen, is the equivalent to interest at 5 per cent. on a loan of \$560,000,000.

Since the outbreak of the war up to December 31st last Canada has had in casualties 68,290 men, as follows: killed in action, 10,854; died of wounds, 4,010; died of illness, 494; presumed dead, 1,108; missing, 2,970; wounded, 48,454. This, gentlemen, does not include the men who have become disabled through sickness either in Canada or at the front. We are indebted to the medical profession, and their researches which have been so successfully adopted by the Army Medical Corps, that the loss by disease in this war has been almost entirely eliminated. As I told you, the deaths from disease only amounted to 494. In previous wars the loss from disease alone was far greater than the casualties from any other cause. This will show you what Canada has been saved by the devoted work of the medical profession, carried on by the Army Medical Corps. If it had not been for this our losses would have been so tremendous that Canada could not have paid the liberal pension she proposes. We should have been crippled if we had.

In August, 1914, there was no provision made for pensions for men overseas; but in April, 1915, pensions for men at the front were arranged, to date back to the 1st of September, 1914. On the 3rd June, 1916, an Order-in-Council was passed regulating pensions and dating back to the 4th of August, 1914. These pensions that we are working under now, are one-third higher than any other pensions we have given, and Canada has been so generous that her pensions are higher



than those of any other country in the world. I will not read you all the Order-in-Council but just parts of it which may be of interest to you. I may say that during the next session of Parliament a bill will be submitted to have the House regulate pensions, and this will supersede the Order-in-Council which we are working under at present. One extract I would like to give you is this:

"There shall be no appeal from the decision of the Commission, but every applicant has the right of appeal to that Commission and a review of his case."

"A pension granted shall not be assigned, charged or attached."

In the new Act a penalty will be placed against those men who lend money on pensions or try to euchre a man out of his pension. When a man is pensioned, his pension will be sent to him; it does not matter from whom he borrows money. We only recognize the pensioner and he will get his money.

"All pensions shall be determined by the disability of the applicant, without reference to his occupation previous to the war."

"If a man or a woman does not use the pension properly, the Commission have authority and power to appoint an administrator of that pension, to see that it is properly administered, and the cost will be borne by the Crown."

The following is the scale for totally disabled men:

Rank and file. . . . .	\$ 480 a year.
Color Sergeants, Sergeants, etc. . . . .	510 "
Regimental Sergeants. . . . .	620 "
Warrant Officer. . . . .	680 "
Lieutenant . . . . .	720 "
Captain. . . . .	1,000 "
Major . . . . .	1,250 "
Lieutenant-Colonel. . . . .	1,560 "
Colonel . . . . .	1,890 "
Brigadier-General . . . . .	2,700 "

Pensions are divided into six classes; the first class is totally disabled, or 100 per cent. The second class is a disablement of 80 per cent. and less than 100 per cent. The

third class is a disability of 60 per cent. and less than 80 per cent. The fourth class is a disability of 40 per cent. and less than 60 per cent. The fifth class is a disability of 20 per cent. and less than 40 per cent. The sixth class is a small incapacity not large enough for a pension, and a gratuity of anything from \$25.00 to \$100.00 is given. To those men who are totally disabled and are considered incapable of taking care of themselves the Commission has power to grant a gratuity of \$250 a year for an attendant. This is reviewed annually. Every child of a man who gets a pension in the first, second or third class, up to the age of 16 for a boy and 17 for a girl, is entitled to \$6.00 a month until they reach the ages mentioned. A widow is entitled to an 80 per cent. pension if her husband dies from wounds or dies from disability, and each of her children is entitled to the \$6.00 a month until the ages I have mentioned. Besides that, when the first pension cheque is sent out the woman receives two months' gratuity and the children two months' gratuity. If the woman marries again her pension ceases but a gratuity of one year's pension is given her. If a man dies or is killed and leaves orphan children, they are entitled to an allowance of \$12.00 a month each up to the ages I have mentioned. No man is entitled to a pension who receives his wound or his disability through negligence or vicious habits. A widowed mother, step-mother or grandmother is entitled to a pension provided no other dependents are living. In the third class pensions to privates are \$24.00 a month. Pensions to widows and children take effect as of the day after the decease of the man.

Canada must make certain that her soldiers and sailors suffer no disability by reason of their service. The men must be put on an equal footing with their more fortunate brothers who are not disabled. For example, if a man has lost an arm when he returns to Canada he must receive compensation for the loss of the arm sufficient to put him on an equal footing with his more fortunate brother with two arms. Gentlemen, we do not want our wounded soldiers to return to Canada and expect that Canada is to support them and their wives in idleness for the rest of their lives. A pension is not a gift for service, it is a right, something a man is entitled to for



service done to his country. A man is enlisted and gives a sound body to his country to go to fight in France. We have to see that that man comes back and is placed in his civil life in as nearly a perfect condition as he was in when we sent him to the front. If he comes back here disabled, it is the duty of the Military Hospitals Commission to take that man in hand and reduce his incapacity as far as possible to a minimum, and then hand him over to the Pensions Board by whom he is given a pension for the amount of incapacity at the time of his discharge from the Hospital. There are three classes of soldiers returning to Canada. First, the men not eligible for pensions. Second, the men due for further treatment to see if their incapacity can be reduced. Third, the men eligible for pensions. Class 2 get treatment by the Military Hospitals Commission and their disabilities are reduced as far as possible. They will then be given a Medical Board examination. The result will be sent to the Board of Pension Commissioners with a recommendation as to what class of pension that man should be placed under. They are then given their discharge dated thirty days ahead and given thirty days' pay. The Pension Commissioners are then expected to have pensions ready for these men at the end of the thirty days.

The Government is taking up the question of training men for useful occupations so that when they come back from the front they will not be a drag on the country but can take their places as useful citizens. The Government will also fit men with artificial limbs and teach them how to use them. We want as far as possible after the war to return to the occupations of peace a strong, self-reliant country. We have gone through a period of great national stress. Our future is before us. Let us work as well for the country after the war as our men have done on the battlefields. We owe it not only to ourselves but to the men who have given their lives for the freedom of this country.

On September 11th last there were three commissioners appointed, Mr. J. K. L. Ross, Dr. J. L. Todd and myself. We have been given a duty by the Government of Canada to carry out. We have been given an Act or Order-in-Council and we intend to carry out the duties that are assigned to us by the Government. We are the friend of the soldier. We

want to give the soldier everything that is coming to him, but we do not want to be imposed upon. Any man who has a grievance has a right to come to us. We stand in a dual capacity—we are also the guardians of the money that you as Canadians are authorizing for the payment of pensions, and we have to see that that money is properly administered, and that the Government and people of Canada are not defrauded. And, gentlemen, right here I want to mention the Press. The Press in every country is very strong either for good and evil—mostly for good we assume. There is too much politics in this country, and we want to free this pension business entirely from politics. I think that the Government that is in power wants these pensions administered properly, and they have done everything to make things right. Everybody in Canada should back them up on this. If we do not do it we are going to fall into a hole. Returned soldier associations are good, but they can be worked for evil; this will be done in some cases. No political party should use the matter of pensions as a means of getting themselves into power.

I want to draw your attention to the way these things have fallen into disrepute in the States. In 1886 the United States Government considered that they were defrauded to the extent of \$2,000,000 a year on pensions fraudulently obtained. We do not want that to happen here, gentlemen. I will give you an idea of the American pensions and the amount of fraud which has crept into this matter. This is recognized by the Americans themselves; one political party and another has pulled the matter to pieces scores of times. On June 18, 1866, the United States was paying \$13,500,000. In 1870 that amount had increased to \$28,000,000. In 1871 it was reduced to \$26,500,000. The American pensions at the start were too small, or not adequate, and proper legislation was brought in to remedy this; but before long frauds crept in so that in 1880 the Government was paying out \$57,340,000 a year for pensions. In 1899 that had so gone on that they were paying \$138,355,000 a year. That is the last published record that I have, but I understand that last year the American Government was paying out for pensions \$180,000,000, fifty-two or fifty-three years after the war. We don't want to have anything like that in this country. In 1866 in the



States there were 172,000 pensioners on the pension list. In 1899 there were 992,000 pensioners. From 1866 to 1899 the American Government paid out for pensions and their administration \$2,500,000,000. We have fraud here in Canada also. We are opening offices all through Canada in order to protect the soldier and also to protect the public. I had a case in Ottawa on Friday. A woman with two children, the wife of a soldier killed at the front, put in a claim for a pension. The claim was properly made out, the marriage certificate produced and everything seemed all right, until another woman came along and produced a marriage certificate two years older than the first woman's. This last woman was of the same name and initials, but her husband lived in the States and she knew it. This came to light in the course of investigation. If we had not had every provision for investigating these cases the woman trying to defraud would have received the pension and the wife of the soldier would have lost it—while the soldier imagined his wife would be looked after. We protect the soldier by opening these offices all through Canada.

Up to December 31st we had paid out in Canada 6,320 pensions to soldiers or to dependents of soldiers killed at the front. We have also paid out some nine hundred gratuities. The benefits of these pensions are enjoyed by 18,000 people, or an average of three for every pension. I have said that on December 31st the number of pensions amounted to 6,320. At the end of March, 1918, we expect there will be between 35,000 and 40,000 pensions paid out.

Gentlemen, seven hundred years ago the young Briton donned his armor and went off to fight the Saracen for what he considered right. To-day the young Canadian dons his khaki and goes forth to fight because he is not too proud to fight; and gentlemen, when God calls that man he is proud to die. Speaking of death, I want to say to you gentlemen—not a man here I venture to say but has lost a friend and very many have lost relatives—that our idea of death in Canada is altogether different from that of the men at the front. We lose a friend in Montreal. We go to his funeral. We go to his house, into a quiet room with the family sitting about. We follow the man to the grave and we are all very solemn

and we all feel very badly. A man's idea of death at the front is altogether different. They are not afraid to die, those men over there. Those men are like David was with Jonathan, when Jonathan was stoned by the Philistines. When the news was brought to David he said: "Jonathan, thy love to me is wonderful; greater than the love of women." The love of those men toward each other is the same thing. They don't know they love each other. If you told them that, they'd say: "Go on, you rummy! You don't know what you're talking about," but the fact remains that they have lived together and suffered together. They have gone out in the morning not knowing whether they will return at night, and when a man hears of one of the number being killed he is proud that his friend has done his bit. That man goes out to the sound of the last Post, he has to make his last fight and cross the river that we all have to cross. He crosses that river not with a rifle in his hand, not with a grenade in his hand. The tense look has left his face and he crosses happily; there is no sound of the din of rifles, the incessant roll of artillery, no shot holes in the ground. The tired traveler finds himself on a beautiful river and the sun is rising in the east and his friends are waiting for him on the other side. And they are all happy together, they spend their Christmas together and they are waiting for us to join them; and they are also happy in the fact, gentlemen, that those they have left behind are safe with us. For they know that we are proud of the privilege of being able to pay pensions to those who depended on them.



(January 22nd, 1917)

## "THE LANDLESS MAN" AND "THE MANLESS LAND" OF CANADA

---

By A. C. FLUMERFELT

---

I FEEL that it is a very great honor that you have done me in affording me the privilege of speaking to such a gathering of representative business men of this premier city of Canada. Here in this city you have the head offices of great railways, banking institutions, educational institutions, large commercial undertakings; and therefore here is one of the centers where the brain of Canada must be found. I wish I had the tongue of fire to impress upon the brain and heart of every man in this room my feeling in connection with this country, our beloved Canada and its problems. I wish I were able to impart to you all the circumstances actuating me to go up and down this country talking wherever I can, being a nuisance to my friends, telling everyone how great Canada is and how great her problems are.

In the first place, 7,200,000 Canadians are the trustees for one of the greatest Empires the world has ever seen. We are not only trustees for the Canadian soldier, whom we all love, but we are trustees for that great United Kingdom of which we are a very important part; and we are trustees in the higher and broader sense for the great humanity, the great world that lies about us. We are, I believe, to become the pivot of the British Empire and it is incumbent on us to maintain those ethical principles that Great Britain has stood for, and carry on the great civilizing work that Great Britain has laid down for us. Well, I want to say, gentlemen, that we have not administered our trust as well as we might. It seems to me that we have been profligates, wasters of our natural resources as well as of our energies and minds. We

have been reckless, we have been money reckless, we have been ambition reckless, we have been socially reckless, in every sphere we may have entered we have been reckless. We have piled up our speculations to the tottering point, and in the heat of the day we have forgotten to take thought of the morrow. Let me say in the first place that there is only one source of wealth in the country and that is from the ground. I should like to lay down as a principle that we can never be really successful, we can never be really prosperous until we are populous. We can never be populous until we cheapen food productions, and we can never increase our food productions until we cheapen living and until we have more population. We are confronted with a great problem.

If you look at the map you will see that seven great nations, representing 436 millions of people, occupy the same space on the face of the map as does Canada. No one can tell whether this Canada of ours is potentially better or worse than those European countries, but in the same latitude as Manitoba we find Petrograd, and in Petrograd and to the north of it both on the Asiatic and European side, we find great populations in Russia. On one side we find 1,600,000 people and on the other side we find 1,500,000, and their exports are very large. With this knowledge, therefore, no one can tell how far north we may push our wheat growing area. Now only one and a half per cent. of the landed area of Canada is occupied as a farm. It is indeed a "manless land." One and a half per cent. only of the area of Canada is under cultivation, and only eight to twelve per cent. of the estimated tillable land is now under cultivation. Surely we have the opportunity to develop practically without limit. Many writers say the United States is smaller in area than is Canada, and yet it supports 100,000,000 people. If we had one-half as many people we should be a great nation and the most populous part of the British Empire of English-speaking people, and therefore the connecting link between the east and the west, to maintain the principles to which I have already referred.

You have to face the fact that only 46 per cent. of the total population of Canada is found tilling the land, and 54 per cent. of the entire population is found within the cities. In 1913, which was probably the last average year, we had



under cultivation only 19,000,000 acres of land. Multiply that by 13 and you have just half the area, being 485 million acres, and yet in the western provinces you have as much barley, oats and wheat as is produced in the entire world. And just here let me ask if you Montrealers understand the very critical position of this food question? During the year just closed the Argentine, South America, Roumania, Russia, Canada, England, were all short in crops. The barley crop of 1916 was one billion bushels short of an average year. As to the carry over, owing to the fact of greater consumption in order to feed the men at the front, the surpluses in all countries have been reduced, and if this consumption continues until the end of July or the 1st of August next, we shall begin the new year with only 46 million bushels surplus in the whole world. Is it possible, therefore, that ten thousand bushels of potatoes were allowed to be destroyed here because the owners would not put them on the market for fear the price would be broken? In a city like Montreal, supposedly a Christian city, is it possible that food is destroyed like this when the world is hungry and thousands are starving to death? If this is true why don't you rise in your might and see that this is not repeated? It is a disgrace to Canada and the men who did it.

Now there are only 714,000 farmers in Canada. Surely we have a "Manless Land." The military people tell us that we have 1,702,000 people in Canada of military age, men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. The number of land owners in Canada I have mentioned is 714,000 and they occupy 153 acres each on the average, but you will be astonished to learn that they only cultivate 68 acres per farm. Surely this is not cultivating Canada. Surely this is not taking care of our agricultural possibilities. Surely this is not doing our part in building up a great nation which after all is agricultural if it is anything. Is it not a disgrace, gentlemen, that we who a few years ago were able to ship from thirty to fifty million eggs per annum to Great Britain are now importing to the extent of one million eggs per month? In the winters of 1912 and 1913 Canada imported from the United States eggs upon which they paid duty to the extent of \$60,000. It is one of the most important food productions, giving the

United States actually something like \$300,000,000, almost equal to their grain, cotton or tobacco export; and yet here we are, a great agricultural country, paying out our money to our neighbors in order that we may have the common articles of food. Again, we are importing butter from New Zealand, we are importing dried eggs from China, we are importing sheep by the hundreds of thousands from the United States; we are importing two-thirds of the wool that we use. We produced last year, 1915, fourteen million pounds of wool. We imported nine million pounds of wool. We are importing many other things we ought to produce in our own country.

Now, gentlemen, we in Canada have great and heavy, very grave responsibilities. First of all you people in this city must look after the protection of your city. You must take care of all the interests pertaining to your city. You have then a duty to your Province; but you have a greater duty to your Dominion and upon you, gentlemen, will depend to a greater or lesser degree the future of the great British Empire as represented in the great Dominions.

I am going to call your attention now to two or three important functions we have here in Canada, and I think the first is the Pension Fund. You were told last Monday, I understand, by Colonel Labatt, one of the Pension Fund Board, that the Pension Fund would be something like twenty-eight million dollars, that is \$7,000,000 per one hundred thousand men. His calculations were based on four hundred thousand troops. As a matter of fact the enlistments up to the present time total 383,000, 278,000 of which have already crossed the seas. I want you to understand that this pension fund, while it is a mere pittance for the man who receives the pension, constitutes an enormous obligation that will soon have to be borne by the Dominion of Canada, and I want to warn you against having it made a political football as it has been made in the United States. In 1865, in the United States, at the close of the Civil War, the Pension Fund stood something about fifteen millions. Fifty years after the war the amount paid out annually by the United States Government for pensions is equal to the expenditure for the British Navy in ordinary normal times. It almost equals the expenditure for the maintenance of the German army in ordinary normal



times. This is probably the biggest financial scandal the world has ever seen. We shall very soon have approached the obligation of a billion dollars in the Dominion of Canada. Our public debt, as you know, in 1914 totalled three hundred and seventy-eight million dollars. Between that time and this the amount more than doubled, and it is a fair assumption to put forward that if the war goes on another year we shall have reached one billion dollars' debt. This, gentlemen, is a very serious obligation.

Coming back again for a moment to the American Pension Fund, you will be surprised to know that between the time of the granting of pensions up to the present time the American Government has paid out three billion odd dollars for pensions, and while these men have for a number of years been dying at the rate of about one hundred a day the Government has had a constantly increasing payroll.

I want you to consider that the pension fund as laid down here would aggregate \$3.89 per person per capita for the pension fund throughout the Dominion of Canada. In the United States the tax is something less than \$2.00 per head. Therefore, you have to very seriously consider the very heavy obligation that is being put upon us when we assume this great responsibility. But we must face this with courage, with determination. We must face this with the fixed purpose that we shall carry on to the limit this obligation even if the numbers of the troops from here shall reach—as I hope they will reach—500,000. The reason I am going into this, and the public debt, together with the administration of justice, is to impress upon you the fact that the public of Canada will be obliged to raise at least one hundred millions of dollars to pay the pension fund and interest on our debt, and I ask you, in all seriousness, how are we going to pay it? My answer is, there is only one way, there is only one source from which this money can come, and that is from the ground. I won't take time to dwell upon the provincial tax or the municipal difficulties under which we are laboring from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But surely, gentlemen, we have been prodigal in the administration of our affairs, and we have not administered with complete business acumen the trusts that have been imposed upon us.

For a moment let me refer to the unparalleled transportation facilities which Canada enjoys. In the year 1886, on the completion of the C. P. R., we had 12,000 odd miles of railway within the Dominion exclusive of the Government road. The outstanding bonds and securities represented 40,000 dollars per mile. The cost of operation was borne by 420 people per mile. In 1915 we had 35,000 miles of railway. The capitalization had gone up one third or more, \$52,000 per mile; and although we all know how necessary to the development of a country is a fine system of transportation, yet our responsibilities have vastly increased in this direction. We have now only 205 people to a mile of railway within the Dominion of Canada. Now you can quite see that it is necessary that we should in some way increase our production in order that we may minimize the danger that confronts us in this regard. Railway transportation is the staff of our business system, of our industrial development. The movement of our commerce is the first essential. We cannot carry on the obligations of our commerce unless we are served, as we now are served in a superb way, by our railways. Canada has invested a very large sum in these railways. The guarantees to the railways in Canada aggregate 290 million dollars; the grants by way of subsidies aggregate 301 million dollars; loans, sixty-eight million dollars; land grants, 43 million acres, representing, at a very small sum per acre, an investment of at least one billion dollars. Surely, this is a sacred trust that we must hand on to those who come after us, this land with proper transportation facilities, properly equipped and its natural resources unimpaired.

Coming to my general plan now, gentlemen, I have been urging throughout Canada that the Dominion Government, together with the Provincial Governments, should take care of the whole of our returning men in some way. We are unable to measure in dollars or in land the magnificent service these grand fellows have performed, in donning their uniforms and going off and putting their persons between us and the enemy. While we cannot measure this in dollars, we can show at least an index of our appreciation. All we can do, and there is nothing too much, ought to be done. Now I have urged throughout Canada as best I have been able that a grand



general campaign be started, headed by some trustees who are beyond any suspicion of any political color and who are not afraid of anything. This body should set aside at least fifty million acres of land throughout the various Provinces of the Dominion, together with such monies as may be necessary not only to develop but to build the buildings thereon to educate men and to generally equip them for life, and this should be done even if it takes one hundred million dollars. I want to see these returned soldiers get an opportunity not only to be self-supporting but to be self-respecting men. Who among us can ever believe that the man who has been engaged in an office or shop and having left there for the war, spending ten or twelve hours a day in the sunlight, is ever going to go back to the stuffy office and take up a pen or be a clerk again? I do not believe that many of the men who have been in indoor occupations before the war will be willing to go back to them again, and it is the ideal of Canada to place these men in as good a position as they were prior to the war. I desire to impress upon you the necessity of doing this. Apart from the sentimental side, it is your bounden duty as a commercial undertaking. It will be a grand investment if every penny of the money is lost, if we can put a large number of men on the lands in Nova Scotia or Alberta, I don't care where so long as they are producing, and so cheapen living and make for better conditions throughout the whole of the Dominion of Canada. I have suggested that a settlement plan be adopted. I would group eight families in one spot and this would give the women companionship during the day. Surely the wives of our soldiers who are carrying as much of the load, and perhaps more, than the men who have gone to the front, are entitled to every consideration. Under this plan the kiddies will have playmates during the day. One set of machinery can be provided under the co-operative principle to be used by a whole section, and this will be an economic saving. Take sixteen of those groups, and in the center would be the village where would be the butcher shop, the shoe shop, the post office, an educational hall, where lectures and demonstrations will be given by experts, so that the people living in this particular district may have an opportunity of understanding something about the work it is necessary to

do there. Here would be your church and schools, and in the village could be found social intercourse, making the life easier and taking away from farming life that one great objection, namely, isolation. I propose that these various communities be under the care, or in the charge of some wounded officer. That the men should be kept under military control, however much may be necessary, in order to carry on the necessary work, that they should be paid military pay for the first two or three years, and after that time if the man has made a success of his land I would give him that piece upon which he has settled, and use his services in the building of roads and the general development of the country. In that way, wherever a section such as this may be put we shall have planted a tree that will grow up and which we will keep British. Of course we must not let unregulated sentiment or ambition lead us to a conclusion that may be wrong. In a great question like this deliberate and careful consideration must be given to all the fine points of the problem. Poison taken by accident is just as deadly as when it is taken intentionally, and an ill-devised scheme may have as disastrous results when entered into with the best of motives as one entered into with the worst of motives. In adopting such a plan as this, of course, there are many other questions that I should have liked to have touched upon; but I am going to say just this. When our armies return we will meet them with enthusiasm and some of the speakers of the country will pay them all sorts of compliments and we will hail them as victors, and saviours, and, so to speak, strew their paths with palm leaves. We are all proud of our soldiers. We are shamefully and shamelessly proud of our soldiers. We have followed them from point to point, from here to Valcartier, from Valcartier across to Salisbury, across the channel to Flanders, and they have written the name of Canada high among the nations of the earth, and made it a splendid thing to be permitted to call oneself a Canadian. Let us not, by neglect, by refusal to do what we should do, follow up that welcome and that palm leaf of victory with a crown of thorns.



(January 29th, 1917)

## AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN WESTERN CANADA AND SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS

---

By THE HON. GEORGE W. BROWN

---

**I**N discussing the question before me to-day, namely, Agricultural Production in Western Canada and some of its problems, I wish it to be understood that I am discussing it apart from present-day conditions, which are war conditions; discussing the situation as it was at the breaking out of the war and the conditions that must be met immediately after its conclusion.

When the war broke out in August, 1914, our country was already faced by conditions which we believed would test the ability of our country to the utmost to solve. We had been enjoying an unprecedented era of prosperity, which was largely artificial, brought about by the building up of an immense railway mileage. Towns and cities had sprung into existence, and the country generally had been enjoying not only the products of what they were then able to produce, but had been discounting the future by hundreds of millions. Unemployment had assumed serious proportions. Sir George Paish estimates that the British loans to Canada between 1907 and 1913 were \$1,500,000,000 or equal to \$714,000 for each day for two thousand one hundred working days. Mr. F. W. Field estimated the foreign borrowings of Canada between 1905 and 1913 to be \$2,276,000,000, which is equal to \$843,000 each day for 2,700 working days. An equivalent for this expenditure had to be found by other methods, and it has come to us in the shape of a war, which has already necessitated an increase of our national debt of over \$400,000,000;

and should the war last until the end of the present year, it will probably be increased by at least another \$300,000,000 leaving us a national debt of over \$1,000,000,000—quite as much as that of the United States, which has a population fourteen times as large as our own. At the close of the war this extra expenditure must cease. We will have probably four hundred thousand returned soldiers to provide for, and possibly three hundred thousand munition workers who will have to find some other employment. In 1914 Sir George Paish estimated the total foreign indebtedness of Canada, public and private, to be not less than \$3,000,000,000. By 1918, our public and private borrowings will amount to at least \$4,000,000,000, the interest on which will be probably \$180,000,000, which, together with a pension list of \$20,000,000 annually, will necessitate a surplus of exports above imports of at least \$200,000,000 per annum. When we consider how serious we thought the position before the war broke out, the question naturally arises with us, "Is it possible for the Canadian people to assume such a large annual liability, to say nothing of making progress and adding to our wealth?" I believe it is quite possible. The war has taught us what it is possible for the people of Canada to do, with every element in the country working harmoniously with each other. It means, however, that every non-productive element in the community which is not necessary must be disposed of. It means that scientific research, economical business management, and the eliminating of every element of waste in every direction will be necessary to accomplish the task which is before us. Large sums of money have already been spent in the development of our country which are not yielding adequate returns, owing to the fact that the business for which they were built has not been sufficiently developed to justify the expenditures that have already been made. The fact that our country is rich in potential wealth does not avail us very much unless we proceed to develop our resources and turn them into cash.

Our forests are among the finest in the world. Our mines contain fabulous stores of wealth. We have hundreds of millions of acres of agricultural land, equal to the best in the world, but unless they are developed, they add nothing to the wealth



of the country in meeting the near conditions. The solution of this problem means the solution of our difficulties and the possibility of meeting the tremendous load that has been placed upon us.

The source of all wealth can be traced immediately to the produce of our farms, our fisheries, our forests, our minerals and our manufactures. The first four may be termed primary sources. The wealth produced from the last, namely, manufactures, only represents the difference between the cost of the raw material and the finished product. As I said before, the difference between the surplus of our exports over and above our imports, represents our ability to meet our liabilities. On looking over the exports for the year 1914, I find that the products of the farms amounted to \$251,569,138; fisheries, \$20,623,560; forests produced \$42,792,137; mineral produce, \$59,039,054; manufactures, \$57,433,452. Thus you see that our agricultural exports were more than twelve times the amount of our fisheries; six times the amount of our forest produce; four times our mineral production and five times our manufactures; fifty per cent. more in the aggregate than every source of wealth put together.

The problem of how not only to develop our agricultural possibilities (the development of which indirectly means the development of all our other sources of revenue) but to develop them quickly, will be a matter of the greatest concern immediately following the war. In the Maritime Provinces, the best of the agricultural lands have already been developed. In the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, especially through the district known as the "Clay Belt," there are immense areas of splendid lands, which will some day support a very large agricultural population; but when we consider that it costs from \$55 to \$65 per acre to clear the land and make it ready for growing crops, the price at which you can buy very good farm lands in the best of the older portions of the Province of Ontario, we cannot look for very rapid development there.

Certainly the quick development agriculturally, must come from the prairie Provinces. We have long been admitted to be the great wheat-producing provinces. We have been called "Wheat Miners." We have been blamed for neglecting mixed farming, and farming in the most improvident manner;

but this is largely owing to the fact that settlement has not been as rapid in the West as was expected. It has been attributed to the fact that we were not a mixed-farming people. It is said we could thus become prosperous, and make Canada prosperous. This is the prevalent idea, and it has been stated so often and with so much force that even people in the prairie provinces themselves have come to believe it. But I wish to state to-day that the Prairie Provinces of Canada are not only the greatest grain-producing provinces, but that they are also the greatest producers of mixed farming products anywhere in Canada. The value of the live stock of Canada is estimated at \$760,000,000. In giving you the percentages I am giving you the round numbers. Thirty-two per cent. of this is to be found in the Province of Ontario; 19 per cent. in the Province of Saskatchewan, 16 per cent. in the Province of Quebec, 14 per cent. in the Province of Alberta, 9 per cent. in the Province of Manitoba, and the balance of 10 per cent. in the Provinces of British Columbia, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. In other words, 42 per cent. of the live stock of Canada is to be found in the three prairie provinces, which have a population of about 1,600,000 people, with a rural population of possibly 1,000,000. The Province of Ontario, with a population estimated at the present time to be about 2,700,000 people, with a rural population approximating 1,500,000, has only 32 per cent. The Province of Quebec, with a rural population not very much less than that of Ontario, has only 16 per cent. I am calling your attention to this fact because I think it has been entirely overlooked that the Western Provinces not only have given a great deal of attention to the best methods of producing grain, but that they have also outstripped the eastern farmers in the production of mixed-farming products, which they were supposed to have carried to a very much greater degree of perfection than we have. I might call your attention to the fact that although Saskatchewan has only about 600,000 at the outside, she produces nearly one-fifth of all the live stock in Canada. If you will notice, she has surpassed her sister Provinces of Alberta and Manitoba. Twelve or fourteen years ago this was not the case. Saskatchewan then produced less live-stock than any of the Western provinces; but as she



forged ahead as a great grain-producing Province, so she finally outdistanced her sister provinces and is to-day the greatest stock-producing Province in Western Canada. The reason for this is obvious. Producing immense quantities of grain meant a large amount of roughage and cheap feed that could not be otherwise made use of, and as her grain production increased, it became possible for her to produce stock at a price such as would enable her to compete in eastern markets and at the same time be able to pay her long railway haul.

But it is not alone in the production of stock that the west has been making great progress. In the year 1912 over 13,000,000 pounds of butter were shipped in the western provinces—the larger part of this butter of course went to the Province of British Columbia. In 1916 we find that the Prairie Provinces have not only been able to supply the home markets and the British Columbia markets, but that they have made large shipments also to Eastern Canada and Great Britain. It is difficult to get exact figures, but from the statements issued by our Railway Companies and our Provincial governments, we find that poultry products of the Western Provinces for the year 1916 amount to at least \$12,000,000—over \$5,000,000 of which is accounted for by the Province of Saskatchewan. The value of the Western grain crop for the year 1916 was \$426,000,000; for 1915, \$391,000,000; for 1914, \$250,000,000 or an average for the three years of over \$355,000,000, while the value of the Ontario field crop was \$80,000,000 for 1916; \$210,000,000 for 1915; and \$199,000,000 for 1914; an average for the same three years of \$163,000,000. Of course I know that the Province of Ontario has a very much larger production of cheese and butter than we have; but I find that the total production of cheese in the Province of Ontario for the year 1910, which is the latest year I have been able to get statistics for, is \$14,805,222. The total production of butter for the same year, \$16,122,317. I know that the value of these products for the present year are considerably more, but after taking into consideration the value of the dairy products of the West, there still remains a very wide margin between the value of our western field and dairy products as compared with Ontario. In this connection let me state that while the Province of Ontario has slightly

over one million milk cows as compared with about 590,000 in the Prairie Provinces, the Prairie Provinces have a little over 1,500,000 of cattle other than milk cows, as compared with 928,000 of other cattle in the Province of Ontario.

We have in the Western Provinces not more than 190,000 farmers; while in the Province of Ontario we have nearly 300,000. In the Western Provinces each farmer represents a yearly production, during the years 1914, 1915 and 1916, of \$1,873 in grain in addition to his other field products; while in the Province of Ontario for the same period each farmer represents \$544 in the production of field products. In addition to this our 190,000 farmers produce 42 per cent. of the live stock of Canada, while the Province of Ontario produces only 32 per cent. The Western Provinces import no feed to raise this stock; the Province of Ontario imports from the West millions of dollars of feed grain and bran, to say nothing of large importations of corn from the Western States. I have taken the Province of Ontario to compare the Western Provinces with, as she admittedly takes the lead in agriculture among the Eastern Provinces. I am quoting these figures to show you how much more important it is to place a contented immigrant on the prairie and to put him in a proper position to produce, than it is to place an immigrant in any other part of Canada.

From the foregoing facts it would seem at first glance that the western farmers on account of their tremendous producing ability, must be becoming wealthy very quickly. Such is not the case. We find in a report issued by the Grain Markets Commission of the Province of Saskatchewan, in 1914, that 80 per cent. of all the farms in the Province were mortgaged. Evidently very little of this tremendous wealth had been allowed to remain with the farmer. The farmer in the west is in a much different position from the farmers in Eastern Canada. He lives thousands of miles from the sea; must employ railways, enjoys little competition in buying his machinery and other supplies, and must on account of the high cost of living employ labor at very high prices. The result is that although in a year of good crops and high prices he may have a considerable margin, if he happens to meet with low prices and short crops he has no margin at all, but a deficit.



His good years have to be used to tide him over the bad ones. In the meantime he pays excessively high rates of interest, and if he buys on time has to pay exorbitant prices.

Gradually a class of men are springing up in the West who have become independent of these conditions, the result being a great co-operative movement equalled by none on the American continent. We have now large co-operative grain companies, which last year handled nearly 100,000,000 bushels of the crop on the barest possible margin. A larger proportion of the farmers of the prairie provinces use the rural telephone than in any other part of Canada. This has been brought about entirely by Government and co-operative schemes. That a province like Saskatchewan should have made such a splendid success of her dairying is due largely to co-operative enterprises. Let me quote you a few sentences from a speech delivered by Mr. F. M. Logan, Assistant Dairy Commissioner for Saskatchewan. Mr. Logan is a graduate of Guelph Agricultural College; was Dairy Instructor in the Province of Nova Scotia, and Live-Stock Commissioner for the Province of British Columbia. He says, in speaking of the work that is being done in Saskatchewan, as follows:

"Having pointed out many defects in the methods followed in other parts of Canada, let me draw your attention to Saskatchewan. It has been my privilege to study at first hand the systems followed in several of the other Provinces, and after being intimately associated with the work here during the past nine months, I have no fear of contradiction when I say that Saskatchewan leads the procession. Through the wisdom, foresight and untiring energy of her Dairy Commission, Saskatchewan has had in operation during the past three years methods which other Provinces hope to adopt some time in the future."

These results were only made possible through the efforts of the Government acting in conjunction with the Co-operative Dairies of our Province.

There is also in effect in Saskatchewan a co-operative system of hail insurance. In the Province of Saskatchewan alone the farmers have formed about five hundred co-operative trading associations, known as the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association. There are also associations of like nature

doing business along the same lines in the Province. The profits arising from the business carried on by the Saskatchewan Grain Growers are distributed rateably among the members. They have also formed associations for the marketing of their live stock. This year the Department of Agriculture employed an agent in Winnipeg to look after the selling of the stock shipped in by these Associations and also to assist the farmers in buying stockers for shipment west. The result of their success may be judged by the fact that during the last two years the number of stockers shipped to the three Western Provinces from Winnipeg are as follows: last year, 9,380 head; this year, 29,346. The shipments to the south last year were 44,975 head; this year 29,184. These figures include stockers only. During the year 1915, over 53,000 head of fat cattle were exported south through the various ports west of Ontario. We might mention in connection with the matter of the shipment of stockers back to the Western Provinces that a great deal has been said as to why American feeders from St. Paul and Chicago were able to go to Winnipeg and ship out Canadian stockers to the States to the South, and fatten them on land that is worth three or four times per acre. They overlook, however, the fact that when a man ships cattle from Western Canada five or six hundred miles from the City of Winnipeg it costs no more to ship these cattle from Winnipeg to St. Paul or Chicago than it does to ship them back the same distance to the Western Provinces; the result being that when the cattle are fattened, they bring on the Chicago market from twenty-five to thirty per cent. more than they do in Central Saskatchewan. If our abattoir men would establish themselves in the center of the prairies, this would largely cease.

The farmers of Western Canada believe that free wheat is essential to their success; for the past six or seven years we have had constant grain blockades. Many men who have grain crops have not been able to sell them for a year and two years after they were grown. Even during the present year, with a very short crop, it is impossible during the last six weeks to get anything like a sufficient number of cars, and on many of the lines it has not been possible to get cars at all for a month. The result is that the farmers will be hauling



this grain out when they ought to be putting in next year's crop, entailing a loss not only for this year, but also for next year; to say nothing about the disadvantage of having to do without their money. It has been argued that the United States having a large production and a surplus of wheat would not absorb at more advantageous prices the wheat of the Canadian farmer. Let me give you a few facts that will show you what the admission of live stock products into the United States meant to the farmers of Canada.

During the nine months immediately preceding the admission of Canadian dairy and live-stock products into the United States, we find that the United States imported \$1,026,301 worth of cattle. No eggs were imported from Canada; \$75,258 worth of butter; \$16,843 worth of cheese; \$1,074,384 of milk. During the nine months immediately after the abrogation of United States duties, we exported to the United States \$8,697,137 worth of cattle; \$85,851 worth of eggs; \$146,153 worth of butter; \$144,603 worth of cheese; and \$2,050,337 worth of milk. Of wool we exported to the United States during the same period before the duty was taken off, \$62,963; and during the next nine months, \$1,003,961. Our total exports to the United States during the last nine months of protection were \$120,571,180, and during the next nine months they were \$160,689,079, a difference of about \$40,000,000 for nine months, or one-third more than the average amount exported by our manufacturers for the five years preceding the date of the war. The United States had a surplus of these products, but she was able to give us a splendid market and to place on a sound basis the great live-stock industry of Western Canada.

We believe that it would do as much and more for grain. Few people in Canada wish the duty to remain on wheat except the millers. Let us see how much this favor to them is costing us. We have a milling capacity in Canada equal to 110,000 barrels per day. Prior to the war these mills were only working at 40 per cent. of their capacity. In no year prior to 1915 did we export quite 5,000,000 barrels; the balance, between eight and nine million barrels, was consumed in Canada. The approximately five million barrels which we exported (largely to Great Britain and Europe) were sold at

practically cost, the reason being that our mills must compete with the best mills in the world, built within the last ten years on the west coast of England. They have also to compete with the fact that it costs more to export wheat as flour than it does as wheat; that we have only one variety of wheat in Canada, whereas the millers in Great Britain have every variety, drawn from every source during all seasons of the year; have cheaper labor, cheaper capital, and a better market for their offal. Under these conditions, I quite admit that it is impossible for our millers to compete with the British millers, especially with 60 per cent. of their capacity idle. The profits to the milling business have therefore to be paid almost entirely by the people of Canada on a highly overcapitalized business. Indirectly Canada suffers in addition owing to the fact that her greatest industry is hampered and hindered for a comparatively insignificant source of wealth.

Our farmers in the West have in view the erection of their own mills within the very near future, so that a great deal of this burden will be removed from them to the people of Eastern Canada. They argue that producing the raw material and controlling the market so far as it is supported by them, they will be able to avoid the excessive prices which we pay for flour used in Western Canada. During the present year, practically our only market for the low grade wheat of which we have so much in Western Canada, has been Minneapolis. The British Government have been buying nearly all our No. 1, 2 and 3 wheat; but for our No. 4, 5, 6, there has been practically no market except the United States. We find that, although the freight rate from the prairie provinces to Minneapolis is less than the freight rate to Duluth, which is the same as to Fort William, still our wheat is being shipped to Fort William, reshipped to Duluth, and again reshipped to the Minneapolis milling zone, where it is sold after paying a duty of ten cents per bushel. Now is this possible? We have always been told that the Americans wished to get our good wheat to tone up their quality of flour; but in actual experience we find that it is our cheap wheat they want. The reason why they are importing it is because they find that while it makes scarcely so much flour as the other, the quality is all right, and they are buying it at a price to which they can



afford to add the duty, the extra railway carriage, and then make a profit. In other words, our farmers, not being allowed to sell direct to the United States, are getting that much less for their lower grades of wheat this year. A great deal of the Western wheat this year is tough; that is, it contains over 11 per cent. of moisture. If it can be milled before the warm weather comes, moisture up to 14 per cent. is added to it, and it is then fit for milling purposes, but if it has to be warehoused, it has to be dried, which reduces the price ten or fifteen cents per bushel. If this wheat could be rushed forward, not only to our own millers, but also to the millers in the United States, it could be milled at once, and little loss would be sustained by our farmers; but as it is, our Canadian millers having monopolized the business, buy it as cheaply as possible, and so help to increase their profits.

A very interesting report of experiments carried on by Prof. F. J. Brichard, appeared in the Winnipeg Free Press of the 6th instant. It shows that the various grades of wheat, especially the lower grades, do not bring the price that their actual worth entitled them to, and that the lower the grade the greater the spread between the prices paid and their actual worth.

On my way down from the west I was reading the evidence given by the Milling Company's representatives before the Commission taking evidence with regard to the high cost of living. They all agree that the millers' profits are only about twenty cents per barrel or roughly speaking about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  millions of dollars (the output being about  $13\frac{1}{2}$  million barrels). Three-eighths of a cent per bushel on the crop of 1915 which equalled 750 million bushels, is certainly an insignificant industry compared with the \$426,000,000 crop of 1916. Is it common sense or business to hamper our greatest source of wealth in this way? The Milling Company also stated in their evidence that the mills made their money trading in grain. Would not a greatly enlarged production of grain enable them to make much more?

I do not intend to say very much about the banking facilities; that is too large a subject to speak of to-day. I believe an honest endeavor has been made to meet the conditions; but the system of banks, while it may be satis-

factory to the Eastern Provinces, is totally incapable of meeting the conditions in the West. The loans are too small, and the difficulty of getting information about the borrowers militates against a central banking system. Compare the average country bank manager in the west, who has practically no discretion as to the amount he should lend, and who does not belong to the community, and does not expect to live in it except for a few years, with the position of a bank manager in the eastern states, who in many cases is the largest shareholder, surrounded by a local board of Directors, also shareholders, who is interested in the growth of the community and the development of local interests—compare his importance in the community with that of a man who is only a bird of passage at best.

There is no reason in the nature of things why agricultural implements should be sold for two-thirds as much in England, South Africa, Argentina and up to the beginning of the war in Germany and Austria, as they are sold for to the Canadian farmer. While our manufacturers are scouring the world for opportunities to trade in foreign markets, our western Canadian farmers, through their co-operative institutions, are studying the possibility of buying cheap goods, manufactured in countries where the standard of living and wages is much lower than with us. They know that while the war has developed a far better class of workmen in Canada, it has also done the same in many of the neutral countries, and if the manufacturers of Canada wish to retain the home market, it will be necessary for them to treat them at least as well as they treat people of other countries.

Talking about the matter of immigration, perhaps nothing is so discouraging, when we consider the development of the Western country, as the fact that although millions have been spent on immigration propaganda, the increase in the population of the three prairie provinces during the last thirty-five years (when the railroads began to spread themselves on the prairies) from all sources is about 1,400,000—40,000 per annum, or 13,000 per annum for each Province. I have not been able to obtain the census returns showing the population of the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta at the present time. I find, however, that the Province of



Manitoba, which had a population in 1911 of 455,000, with the City of Winnipeg accounting for 136,000, leaving in round figures 319,000 as the population of rural Manitoba and all the rest of the towns, this year has a population of 521,000. As the population of Winnipeg is 202,000, this leaves exactly the same number of people in the Province and in the cities of Brandon, Portage la Prairie, and other large towns, as there were five years ago. All the immigration and all the natural increase in population for rural Manitoba has evidently disappeared as fast as it made its appearance. While I do not think that such is the case to the same extent in the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, no one who knows these provinces and honestly gives his opinion believes that the increase has been very much more during the last five years than the natural increase. Under these conditions what is the prospect for immigration? How about our own returned soldiers? How many of them want to go back to the land? I have made it a point to enquire of those who are in charge of our Convalescent Homes, and they say that a very small proportion of them wish to go on the land. What is the use of bringing men from Great Britain and Continental Europe as immigrants to our country when the manufacturers here are not willing to treat them as they do the Argentine, and other foreign countries, when selling their goods to them? A man had better go to Australia and buy his goods there from the Canadian manufacturers, than come to Canada to buy them and pay 20 per cent. to 40 per cent. more. Our Federal Government is acting in concert with the Provincial Governments to assist our returned soldiers and our soldier fellow-citizens from the Old Land. We all agree that the very most that can be done should be done for those splendid fellows who have done so much for the Empire, but it is not enough to put them on the land and lend them money. We must not put them into an industry which is bearing the brunt of taxation, but into one where the general conditions are right, and where an honest, industrious man can attain a fair measure of success. Speaking at Regina, two years ago, Sir James Aikens made the statement that of all the men who had been granted patents for their homesteads in the Canadian West, only 15 per cent. of them were in occupation of

the land now. The great source to which we can look for immigration is to the Western States to the south of us; but you must remember that the conditions which existed ten years ago do not exist in Canada to-day. There are no cheap railway lands to be bought by speculators, many of them bankers in the American West, who had a good idea where they would sell their land when they bought it, and thus induced the very best kind of settlers to come to our country. There are no homesteads fit for cultivation within a reasonable distance from a railway. To go too far from the railway spells disaster from the first. In the former days an immigrant without any capital could secure a homestead within a reasonable distance of the railway, perform his duties, earn enough to keep him and a little to spare from a neighboring farmer; at the end of the three years, he would be able to borrow on his homestead probably \$1,000, and with what he had saved commence farming. That is no longer possible. The tide of American immigration having practically ceased, it will be very much more difficult to start again than it was to stop it. When the Americans came to this country, ten or twelve years ago, and saw our land, they compared it with their own; but they forgot that everything that would be necessary to stock their lands would cost at least 25 per cent. or 30 per cent. more than in their own country. They forgot that the rate of interest in their own banks was higher than the rates paid to depositors here; that the rates that they would have to pay were higher. They found a very great difference dealing with a man who was interested financially in the building up of a locality, and with a man who was sent there to lend money safely at the highest rate possible, and who was not expected to take too much chance in encouraging local development and local enterprise. The assistance that has been given to our farmers in Canada has been of a nature to help the needy man out—loan him pure bred stock if he could not buy it; pay his fare to Winnipeg to buy stockers in order to compete with the Americans. These things are all right as far as they go, but they do not get at the root of the difficulty. The assistance that is necessary and must be given is to make the general conditions right, so that every one will have a fair chance to succeed; and if he is possessed



of more than ordinary ability as a business man and a leader, he will remain in the country and be one of the greatest powers to the development of his country. As it is in Canada to-day, there are no wealthy farmers. This is seen especially in Eastern Canada where your great Agricultural Educational Institutions, housed in the most magnificent buildings, and under the guidance and direction of the most capable men, have been unable to woo in any great numbers the farmers' sons and daughters to them. Why has the Argentine succeeded in procuring the finest cattle and horses from Great Britain and the continent? It is because she has among her farmers wealthy men, who could buy the best that Scotland and England could produce, and to-day they are admittedly at the head in the quality of their stock. The ordinary farmer is thus far more benefited than by the introduction by the Government of a lot of middle class stuff. Under our system, as it is in Canada, men like Duthie and Durno and many other noted stockmen of England and Scotland cannot and do not exist. If the general conditions under which agriculture is placed in Canada made it possible for some of our farmers to be wealthy, they would not only buy the best stock which is now going to the Argentine and elsewhere, and bring them to Canada, but they would also form a class that would stimulate and direct the attention of the average farmer to the benefits to be obtained from such splendid institutions as Macdonald College and the Guelph Agricultural College. As it is to-day, nothing so strikes the stranger as the lack of a student body in these institutions who were born on the farm, of the farm, and intend to return to the farm. In his address at the annual meeting of the Royal Bank of Canada, the other day, speaking of immigration, Mr. E. F. B. Johnston said:

"What are our duties? We must fill this country with men capable of producing either from the forest, mine or land. Above all, we shall require a large agricultural contribution to our population. Instead of 200,000 or 300,000 settlers coming here, we should have at least 2,000,000 per annum, and the Government with the assistance which the Banks could give ought to see that some practical system be adopted whereby the producer will be assisted instead of the consumer."

I quite agree with him, and believe that such a condition

is possible; but as far as Western agriculture is concerned, not so long as the present handicaps of abnormally high prices for everything including capital, labor and machinery hamper and make it impossible for the Western farmer to succeed any better than he did in the years preceding the war, shall we be successful. The extraordinarily high prices at which our farmers must buy have not only mitigated against the success of the individual farmer, but have made it impossible for anybody but an expert to succeed. For example, during the sessions of the Agricultural Commission, held by the Province of Saskatchewan, two or three years ago, the manufacturers were unwilling to state at what prices their goods could be manufactured, stating that the information was personal and private and that the cost of selling their machines was so much greater in proportion to the cost of producing them, that the element of primary cost was not important. One of our successful farmers who came to Saskatchewan in 1882 told me that during a visit to England just prior to the war, that at Boston, Lincolnshire, implements which sell in Canada at \$180 were on sale at \$100 each. While there, he met the agent of the company from Melbourne, Australia, who said that their prices for Canadian machinery were the same as in England. No wonder that during the years 1911 to 1914 inclusive, when our exports of agricultural implements only averaged \$6,500,402 per annum, our imports of agricultural implements into Canada averaged \$10,281,344, for the same period. I noticed in a recent issue of the Grain Growers' Guide, the official organ of the farmers' organization in Western Canada, they state that in the three prairie provinces there are about 190,000 farmers, while the number of retail dealers is 17,000, so you see that each retail dealer must be supported by eleven farmers on the average.

So keen had the competition become among the various manufacturers of farm machinery, and to such an extent did they canvass the country from house to house, that the Saskatchewan Government were compelled to pass an Act forbidding such canvassing. The departmental stores have provided goods at reasonable prices for the farmers of the West, although they have stripped them of social centers, and have affected the social life of the rural communities.



You will thus see that these 17,000 retail dealers largely belong to the class known as "combines," who maintain high prices at great cost to the consumer. Would it not be better to have about 10,000 of these people producers, and a saving thereby effected could be applied on the reduction in the price of goods? There would still be ample left to push the trade, and about 5 per cent. would be added to the producing power of the farming community.

Let us compare the experience of Mr. J. S. Dennis, Assistant to the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and head of the Department of Natural Resources, with the ideas expressed in Mr. Johnston's speech. In giving evidence before the Dominion Royal Commission he stated that in connection with the mammoth colonization schemes which the Canadian Pacific has under way, the Railway Company established over 150 agencies in Great Britain in an endeavor to induce the people to come to Western Canada. The Company prepared one hundred ready-made farms to start with, which comprised an area of 160 acres each, and were restricted entirely to British colonization. The Company secured one hundred families from Great Britain to take up these farms, but it did not have very much success, because it had been unfortunate in its selection. If a great Railway organization such as the C. P. R., who are the owners of so many millions of acres of Canadian agricultural lands, with ample financial resources to make any scheme they might undertake succeed, and with the prestige that they would have in Great Britain, were not able to make a scheme to which they gave special attention, succeed, how about the success of pouring the returned soldiers, without experience and without capital, into a country that has not been able to retain more than a very small percentage of the immigration which it has received during the past twenty years?

There is only one way by which you can increase the agricultural population of Canada, and that is to make the general conditions such as to retain and attract the people who come to our country. As I said before, the real source of successful agricultural immigration for Western Canada must be the Western States, where the people have been accustomed to conditions similar to our own, where there are a large number

of men known as "renters," who have sufficient capital, stock and implements necessary to commence operations. But can you attract such people to our country when they know that it costs 30 per cent. more on an average for nearly everything that enters into the production of farm commodities; that we have restricted markets; with money dearer than it is with them? We have had a lot of these men in our country; but we know and the United States Consular returns show that they are leaving Canada faster than they are coming into it. It is like trying to make water run up hill to get these men to come into the Canadian West under the present conditions. In addition to these facts, the American is a man who does not like taxation, and when he considers that the national debt of Canada is as great as that of the United States, it is hard to persuade him that we will not have plenty of it. It is a mistaken idea that the Western States have not large areas very suitable for grain production still undeveloped. The State of Montana, which is essentially the same as Southern Alberta and South West Saskatchewan, is now being homesteaded. The great ranch areas are being thrown open to the farmers, and within the last four or five years, thousands of native born Canadians, as well as Americans and other nationalities, have been trekking across the border and settling up these lands. For many years to come, the United States will be just as eager to get the proper kind of agricultural settlers as Canada is.

I think also that our patent laws in Canada would stand revision. We find in actual experience that many inventions which would confer great benefit upon our people are kept out of general use by the fact that the people owning the patent will not sell the implements at reasonable prices. Let me give you an example: within recent years there has appeared a noxious weed in the west which has alarmed our agriculturalists more than a little. We fear that in the rich alluvial lands of the west that it will be almost impossible to eradicate the pest. I refer to what is known as "sow thistle." The late Mr. J. J. Hill, finding that this weed was spreading over a great deal of wheat lands contiguous to the Great Northern, spent considerable time and money investigating the problem. He secured a machine, which would not only dig



up sub-soil, but would also separate the vegetable matter from the soil, leaving the weeds to perish on the top of the ground. The machine was suitable for a man with a 160 acre farm; the price, \$3,000, almost prohibitive in its use, as it would add nearly \$20 an acre to the price of the farm. He sent the machine down to his shops and had an estimate made of the cost of building the machine. The cost was \$792. He then applied to the people who held the patent and were manufacturing it, asking them to put their price at \$1,200, so that the machine could come within the reach of everyone. This they refused to do, and the ordinary farmer was unable to avail himself of it. If this machine were brought into the Canadian West the extra freight and duty would bring the price up to \$4,000, or equal to \$25.00 an acre. Before the farmer would pay this price he would seriously consider the advisability of abandoning the farm and purchasing another that was not infested. Mr. Hill's idea was that every person who obtained a patent should be allowed to charge a royalty for every machine made; but that any person should have the right to manufacture on payment of this royalty. The patentee is entitled to his royalty; but the public have interests which should be protected. I could name you half a dozen other machines which would greatly increase our agricultural production, but are not in general use for the same reason.

Another great hindrance in keeping the agricultural population on the land is the extravagance of our cities and municipalities, in our spending of public money, especially in some of our cities. We have shown no appreciation of its value, and this spirit has destroyed the private thrift of our people. The consequence is that our people leave the farms for the apparent wealth of the cities, and then pass on to the United States. This is one great source of our loss of immigration. We talk about a movement "back to the land." There never can be such a movement of any significance. An experience of thirty-five years on the plains has convinced me of that. Our great object must be to retain the agriculturalist on the land. Let me give you an example. The City of Berlin, with a population of over 2,000,000, has a debt of \$99,254,000. Two-thirds of this is an expenditure which returns profits. The City of Philadelphia, with a population

of 1,500,000 has a debt of \$99,350,000. Toronto, with probably a population of 500,000, has a debt between ninety-nine and a hundred million dollars. The same is true of our Western cities, and many of the other large cities in the east. I believe the sinking fund of the City of Toronto is about \$17,000,000 which would leave them a net indebtedness of about \$83,000,000. If the population is 500,000 she has a per capita debt of \$165. Chicago's per capita debt is \$45.90; Detroit \$31.30; Milwaukee \$32.47; Philadelphia \$65.09. How can it be possible that the urban centers in Canada can minister to the wants of our agricultural population on a basis to enable them to compete with other countries, and attract an agricultural population? When the present Minister of Finance raised the duty on automobiles to 42½ per cent. he stated that the duty would be such as would prohibit the importation of automobiles, but I see in the speech of Sir Edmund Walker the other day at the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Bank of Commerce, that notwithstanding this prediction of the Finance Minister that last year the importation of foreign automobiles amounted to ten millions of dollars. There was also a further importation of silks and other finery of \$10,000,000. Such a lack of thrift in the character of our people will make it very difficult to face after-war conditions.

What I think is necessary to enable us to cope with the situation before us is thrift and economy, both publicly and privately, the doing away with every unnecessary middleman; a change such as I have suggested in our patent laws, the establishment of agricultural state banks for farmers, depositors and borrowers, a system of rural credits for long term loans so that the people in our rural communities who have money to invest would be able to get a reasonable interest on their money, say 5 per cent., while the farmers who required it would be able to borrow it at a reasonable rate; that our Universities should bring all the scientific knowledge and research possible to assist our practical farmers by the most scientific and economical methods to bring about the greatest agricultural production possible. The establishment, in every manufacturing center of importance, of technical schools in order that the Canadian workmen might fit themselves so



as to be second to none; wider markets; cheaper agricultural implements, the organization of our farmers from the Atlantic to the Pacific just as thoroughly as the manufacturers, financiers, business men of Eastern Canada and our Grain Growers in the West are organized, in order that they may be able to have their representatives and the representatives of the other divisions of our community meet and discuss Canadian national problems from the standpoint of every interest in our community. If we thus work together, there is no doubt as to the future of our country, but we cannot afford to be divided. In any great scheme for the settlement of our vacant lands in every Province, the men who have a practical and thorough knowledge of the agricultural conditions should be included in any committee or body of men attempting to deal with the proposition. They will bring invaluable knowledge to the solution of the problem. I feel strongly that the solution of the foregoing problem will make it possible for the difficulties of immigration to be overcome.

When we consider that the expenditure from borrowed capital from the year 1905 till the beginning of the war was over three quarters of a million per day, and from the beginning of the war until now at least one million dollars per day, to say nothing of the money brought in by immigrants, especially from the United States, and the larger war expenditures of the Imperial Government; that our agricultural area under production has decreased between two and three million acres, we cannot get away from the fact that nothing but the best management can make it possible to avoid a calamity. We may as well look the difficulty squarely in the face. I am no pessimist. It can be done; but only by making the West attractive to the agriculturalist can we do it. Is it patriotic, is it imperialistic, is it humane, to send returned soldiers and our soldiers from the mother country out on the prairies to farm when we have not been able to retain our experienced farmers to the extent of a tenth of the immigration?

I bring all these things to your notice with the hope that the East will come to understand better the conditions under which the agriculturalist in the West must carry on his business. If I have brought you to a better understanding of the situation I have fulfilled my mission.





(February 5, 1917)

## FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE WAR

---

By SIR EDMUND WALKER

---

I AM more than ever surprised, when I look at this audience, at my temerity in undertaking to speak to what I suppose is the most intelligent collection of business men and professional men in Canada, on such a subject as the Finances of the War. I suppose if the Ten Commandments were read to us every day they would be observed a little better, but it would be monotonous without a doubt, and I am quite sure it will be monotonous for you to hear some of the figures and facts connected with the war. No doubt you know them quite as well as I do, but certain kinds of facts cannot be repeated too often, if we are to understand their significance in such a great emergency as the present one.

Now we have the habit of talking about everything with a dollar mark. We convert all the things we do into dollars and we make things easier to understand from some points of view and much more difficult to understand from other points of view by doing so. I shall try to speak about the finances of the war in terms of dollars and also try to speak about the real facts of life which have to do with the war. I must go back to the spring of 1913 and I trust you will bear with me when I go over some facts of which you may be well aware. We can hardly understand what has happened to the credit of Canada unless I go back in this way. The credit of Canada is the basis of everything we have done from the sending of the first army to Valcartier to the present time. Without that international credit we should have been comparatively helpless. In that spring of 1913 we all realized that we had gone too far; that we had pretty nearly been arrested by the constable. This year was marked by an excess of imported

goods over exports to the extent of \$300,000,000 and we had \$125,000,000 to \$140,000,000 interest to pay. By the end of that year, our fiscal year, March 31, 1913, we were at least \$425,000,000 on the wrong side internationally. We depended absolutely upon Great Britain taking the securities that were necessary to carry that indebtedness, and we sold then to English or European markets about \$400,000,000 worth of securities. However, at the end of the next year, March, 1914, four months before the war, we had changed that so that the debt against us in this direction amounted to \$320,000,000 as against \$425,000,000. Four months later we had to face war. I am perfectly satisfied that those bankers of Canada who were honest with themselves did not see how it was at all possible for this country to adjust its foreign relations so that internationally it could pay its way. We realized that if we were to be a help to Great Britain we must keep the credit of Canada up to the highest mark. Our prospects were just as bad as they could possibly have been. We could not adjust this balance without selling a great amount of securities, and we could not sell the securities in England; so the question was where could we find a market. Early in August we met in Ottawa and we arranged with Sir Thomas White for certain things which took the form of an Order-in-Council which was passed one evening at about nine o'clock. The following day Canada, instead of waking up to find a Bank Holiday of several days as they had in England, found the banks open; but no one could draw out gold and hoard it. There were other provisions made at Ottawa; as they have been used to such a slight degree many people will think that the precautions taken were unnecessary. But our position to-day is due to the fact that precautions were taken, and the non-use of those measures is not a sign of their uselessness but of their usefulness. By March, 1915, because of the contraction that had set in, the widespread feeling of economy, the stopping of building in every private way possible, and retrenchment of public building, we had an excess of only \$36,000,000 imports over exports, and we found at the end of that year that we were only \$185,000,000 on the wrong side internationally. This was still a tremendous debt to face, but as the British and foreign markets disappeared, a market



for our securities began to spring up, slowly at first but increasing steadily, in the United States. The splendid spirit shown by Canada in this struggle made our position strong in the United States. I am convinced that had we not shown our determination to do everything in our power to help the mother country our position would not have been what it was in the United States, which practically saved the situation at the time.

In that way we passed from a perfectly hopeless condition internationally in the Spring of 1913, to a point where we could see that we were going to hold our heads up and do what we could in the war, so far as the financial side of it was concerned. When the war started we did not dream that we could do anything to help unless we borrowed money from Great Britain. The load she had to carry was added to by our necessities, and so we arranged for some kind of help in England. She was to give us a million pounds a month; so when we began our war England was financing us, and because most of the money was spent at home and our soldiers had not yet been sent abroad, that helped our business situation substantially. We had no issue of bonds in England at all during this time except one of \$25,000,000 which had to do with government finances and had nothing to do with the war. In 1915 the first test was made in New York, and some of you will remember at that time that the idea of neutrality in the United States was such that if we had said the money was for war purposes they probably would not have lent us any. However, we borrowed \$40,000,000 at that time and by the end of 1915 we began to feel much more strongly the result of the stoppage of public and private building, the exercise of economy and also the production of all kinds of ammunition, such as foodstuffs, clothing, saddlery, shoes, shells, rifles, etc. We had not yet made munitions in the shape of shells in any large way, but all this of course made it evident that we were going to be able to more than pay our interest charges and adjust our difference between imports and exports. We were going to be able to pay our own war charges. That was of perfectly tremendous importance, because about that time a pound sterling had dropped to \$4.50 and only steadied itself at \$4.75, and it would be tremendously expensive if Sir Thomas

White had to borrow the money in England, and this influenced him to try to obtain the money on this side of the water.

In November, 1915, something happened which was, whether we realized its full significance or not, the most amazing thing that has happened in the history of Canadian finance. The Finance Minister came to the Canadian public and asked for \$50,000,000. The loan he had made in New York of \$45,000,000 was the largest loan in the history of Canada before this. In London we never got more than twenty-five to thirty million dollars, so when we asked for \$45,000,000 we tested for the first time the New York market with the biggest offering of Canadian securities that had ever been made. We now tested Canada at home, and the biggest offering by all odds that had every been made was made to the Canadian people, and it was the first Canadian loan ever offered in Canada. New York was a great money center; Canada was not, so we could not tell how things would go and more depended upon the success of that loan than the Finance Minister let the public know at the time. It was a moment of tremendous significance. You know, all of you, what happened. The Canadian people offered \$100,000,000 for the \$50,000,000 the Finance Minister asked for, and the Finance Minister with the concurrence of all the banks did what would have been an extraordinary thing in other times; he took the hundred millions and said to Great Britain: "Now we can help you with some munition contracts. I have some money I can loan to you." In March, 1916, the Finance Minister went to New York again with a loan of \$75,000,000 for 5, 10 and 15 years, \$25,000,000 of it to replace \$25,000,000 of the \$45,000,000; that proportion having been a short term loan. He has not gone to the New York market since, and at the same time, when our fiscal year closed in March, 1916, we were delighted, if we all understood the significance of it we should have been thankful, to find that we had shipped good to the extent of \$249,000,000 in excess of the goods we had imported. It became evident for the first time that beyond doubt we could pay our interest abroad, pay for our own war charges and have something to loan to England against the munitions we were making for her, because at the same time the market for all kinds of Canadian securities



had opened in the United States and we had more than this country's position to fall back upon.

For the present calendar year the figures have just come out and they indicate that our exports are \$345,000,000 more than our imports.

In September last, the Finance Minister brought out his second loan of \$100,000,000. The banks underwrote \$50,000,000 of it. The subscriptions by the public were over \$200,000,000; the banks got nothing whatever of it and most of the subscribers got 35 to 50 per cent. of what they had subscribed for. We had almost forgotten what finance meant, everything seemed so easy, and it seemed that the Finance Minister could do anything he liked with the Canadian people. But we must remember that in all of these loans our American friends came in to a great extent and we shall find when the war is over that many of those bonds that we think have been taken by Canadians have been taken by Americans.

While these things were going on, the question of making munitions began to come to the fore in Canada, and some of us were the first to say that if we had the contracts for munitions, Canada could take a large part of the price of those contracts in Imperial Treasury obligations. The munitions represented the savings of our people. Of course this contention was discovered to be sound, and in addition to Mr. White's \$50,000,000 which he had laid aside, the banks put up in addition loans of \$100,000,000 against Imperial Treasury obligations and have undertaken to take for the current year another \$100,000,000. That is one of the most amazing instances of finance in the history of the world and my only excuse for repeating it is that we cannot say it over too often so as not to lose sight of our amazing fortune, in being able to turn from such a helpless position to the position we are in to-day. We have done better than our wildest dreams.

Now the question is how much more can we stand, and after the war can we pay? Now if we were a great family our duty at the present moment would be to supply men for the fighting, men and women at home to work the fields, mines, forests, the factories; to feed and clothe our soldiers and find houses for the people at home; to keep our national plants intact and to make munitions of war of every kind from wheat

to shells. I believe there are five thousand different kinds of things we can make for the war. Having done this for between three and four hundred thousand men, how foolish it would be to say that we cannot do it until the end. Of course we can do it until the end. Gentlemen, the continuance of our power is coincident with the increase in the whole scope of the war. Everything must go on getting bigger and bigger until the end, and if we are to do the thing we ought to do there must be more men and there must be a kind of individual economy that Canada has not thought of. We say every day we understand the necessity of thrift and we know we must send more men and make more munitions, that we must work harder and that those of us who stay behind in Canada must employ more women. We have demonstrated that they can do the work and we must have more women in our factories, in our banks and so on. So far as my institution is concerned every small office that employs five people must have two women and three men. Whether they like it or not they must work that way. There are places in Ontario where they have been expressing indignation at the employment of women, and I feel that I would like to go out to the townspeople and give them a piece of my mind for their objecting to our using a woman for any work at this time. It is only by such a course that we can keep up with the greatly increasing scope of the war. A year or two ago, Archdeacon Cody gave to his people a magnificent sermon on thrift. There was none of the usual hot air about it that we usually hear from the pulpit. In the course of it he said: "The situation may be summed up in three propositions: 1. Our country needs money with which to buy munitions. 2. We must give the money to the country either in the form of loans or gifts. 3. We must save in order to have the money to give. Let us in thought and purpose bring together the ideas and acts of loyalty by lending to the government, producing munitions and winning the war." That is why we say over and over again that any man who saves ten, a hundred or a thousand dollars, saves it himself out of his personal expenses, has found just that much more money to fight the war with.

Now let us consider for a moment what Great Britain is doing. She is spending \$25,000,000 a day. We hear that so



often and it is so big that we can hardly realize what that means. She is bearing taxation to the extent of 25 per cent. of the cost of the war this year and nobody appears to complain. If they did complain it would not matter much because there would be nobody to listen to them. Do we realize that not simply the fate of England and the fate of Canada and the various Dominions depends upon the finances of Great Britain and her Dominions, but the fate of all the allies depends upon it? Great Britain is financing her allies and so it is absolutely true to say that the finances of the whole of the allies depends upon the financial power of Great Britain. Somebody has said that every shilling spent on an unnecessary article is a shilling given to the enemy to help him win the war.

As I said before, our job is to keep enough men on the firing line, to take care of them, to make every ounce of munitions that we can, pay our interest debts in this way, and if we can do more buy Imperial Treasury obligations to the limit. Another thing, do not let us listen to bond dealers or anybody else who is offering Russian or British or any other loans. Our business is to subscribe to our own loans, either Canadian war loans or the Imperial Treasury obligations given for munitions made in this country.

Now when we talk economy, I have heard people say: "If every man economizes as much as he can you will reduce us to the position of the people in the war zone, you reduce us to the bare necessities of life." Now every man knows perfectly well what is economy for him. There is the man who is denying himself something for the sake of his country as compared with the man who doesn't do anything. We are not trying, in this country, to put up with meatless days, or to ration the people. Nothing like that has been thought of. We are far away from the condition that one sees in England to-day. But because we are not on the firing line or in the battle zone we do not seem willing to do what we can do without any kind of suffering or discomfort.

Now, when the soldiers come home and the munition orders stop, what then? I am not going to tell you, because I do not know. None of us can see into the future and tell how things are going to be—probably it is a good thing we cannot—but I am old enough to recall the condition of the

United States in 1865. The United States had a public indebtedness of six billions of dollars, altogether, and one and a half million men were turned off from the Northern armies into the industrial life of the North. Everybody knew, or thought they knew, at that time that the United States was facing nothing but bankruptcy. How could they find employment for a million and a half men? Well, in 1868 they were getting along somehow, and by 1873 the expansion of business was so great that they had to meet the greatest financial panic through over-prosperity.

How long will the war last and how much will it cost? I don't know, but what we all know is this, that if we do all that we have the power to do, and the rest of the Allies do the same, we can win; and our business at the moment is to win, not to concern ourselves too much about the future of Canada. If we exercise the right kind of economy we shall be in such a position after the war that the interest we shall have to face will not hurt us. Nobody was ever ruined by paying interest to themselves, and that would be the condition of Canada after the war if we exercised reasonable economy. We shall own our own war debt to a very great degree and we shall be paying interest to ourselves. A thing of this kind does not hurt very much; and so far as the man in the street is concerned, he must remember that the chief business of the politician is to handle the reins of taxation in such a way that it will not fall on him.

When the war is over what is clear is, that if we only need the same number of men to carry on our country that we did before the war the places of our gallant dead will be filled by the boys who have remained at home. All of the boys of 16 will be at least 18, all the boys of 18 will be 20, and in the nature of things the men will stay on the job longer and be a great deal more vigorous. The women will do all kinds of things that they have not done before and we shall not be lacking in people to take care of Canadian trade. I do not know whether we shall have immigration quickly or not. If trouble comes with the United States we shall have an enormous immigration from that country. When the time comes that the war in Europe is over and the young men and women marry and have children and are planning their future, when



they remember what their dearest have gone through, you cannot tell me that they will not come to a country which is the last great unploughed area there is in the world, in a democracy where there is good law and order, a good climate, a fine people, and where the men who fought at St. Julien, Festubert, Givenchy and Courcellette came from.

What we do know, however, is that the future will need, if we are to pay our debts, the very last ounce of production that Canada can get from the farm to the workshop. We know that we are at work devising means for putting men on the land. We know the Western Provinces are keen on it, and that we are trying to establish an agricultural and industrial Research Council at Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa where Canadian manufacturers will be able to bring questions and problems for solution. If we do not do that, if we have not learned enough, if we do not understand that there is nothing whatever in foreign trade for us unless we are able, as any other people of the world are able, to get what information and knowledge is needed, we shall not have that foreign trade and we shall not produce to that degree that is necessary because of the debt we have. I have such confidence in the Canadian people, they have shown such energy in the war, that I do not doubt they will meet all this, with an accumulation of capital, greater ability in our workingmen, energy and courage on the part of our capitalists, and if the government will see that we have the necessary laboratory information; but we want to recognize that we have to live up to the bigger sphere we have come into if we are to be the nation we ought to be after the war.

Let me say a word about what we shall have gained by the war. Thank God there are not very many people who are asking that question at the present time. This is not exactly the time to ask it, and many people in Canada, more and more as the time goes on, receiving the idea from our American friends, think it is fine of us to help Great Britain to the extent we are doing. We are not helping Great Britain, we are helping ourselves. We should all realize that, most of us do realize it. We are not only helping ourselves, but we are helping the United States, we are helping all America to retain the right to live as free men here or anywhere. But there is a little more

than that. In this war people have given as they have never given before. There have been hundreds of men who would not give \$5,000 to anything who have given one hundred or two hundred thousand dollars as cheerfully as any of us and with amazing liberality. If the war has done nothing else the spirit of the men who have stayed at home, the middle-aged men, in recognizing that they must support the boys that have gone, the idea that if we cannot fight we must pay, all this has led us into a larger sphere of life and the bigger things that really make it suitable for us to call ourselves a nation.

We have in Canada a romantic past, a history more beautiful and varied and full of action and romance than any new country in the world. We fought for years before Confederation and for thirty years after Confederation to try to tie this great country together. We all know that that was a tremendously difficult thing. How little right we had to call ourselves a nation! If you look at the map you will find that we are the largest red spot on the map. It was indeed a great trust, and we have often wondered whether we were fit for it. When our sons went across the sea to fight we knew that these boys were raised in a country which was far from the madding crowd of European difficulties. We never expected war here, and we thought it might take a long time for them to get the energy and courage and endurance necessary to the soldier. Well, this is not the place, nor is it for Canadians to boast about what our men have done, but this I must say; they have acquitted themselves like men and we have the right to think of ourselves as a nation, having been put to the supreme test in the greatest struggle the world has ever known. Of course before the war we did not know our power, either in producing soldiers or in producing anything else. We did not know our power as manufacturers or financiers, and we must admit that we had not the least idea what our women were like. If we could have dreamed that the women of this country would have pushed their sons forward, would have worked as they have worked, gone into munition factories, filled all kinds of places, done all kinds of things, we should have felt that they had made for us a stature so much higher than we set for ourselves, that we could not fail



to rise to their height. If our boys at the front had not given us the right to call ourselves a nation, our women have undoubtedly given us the right.

My time is up and I want to close by saying only this: that Canada for all the reasons I have mentioned and countless other reasons did not know exactly whether it was a nation or not; but it has discovered itself, it knows it is a nation. We know that we have the greatest area for the future settlement of the world, and that we have good government. The trust that has fallen upon us,—not simply in taking our place with the greatest Empire in the greatest war the world has ever known for the liberties of the world—but the trust for the future of this country, is so great that we can thank God we are Canadians.





*(February 8th, 1917)*

## THE PATRIOTIC FUND: SECOND CAMPAIGN

---

By SIR HERBERT AMES

---

**M**OST of the European nations, living under the constant shadow of war, have evolved military systems especially adapted to meet local conditions and needs. Canada, with no thought of war, suddenly drawn into a great struggle, had no time to develop a home grown system, nor hitherto any experience on which to base it. We were forced, therefore, to accept and to adopt as best we might the methods and practice already elsewhere in vogue. It is not to be wondered at that such adaptation has not been easy. Nowhere is this exemplified to a more marked degree than in the matter of soldiers' pay and allowances. With the good of the service only in view, the Government says to the recruit: "Your pay will be \$1.10 per day, and if you have a wife dependent on you, she will receive in addition \$20 per month as separation allowance. This is given you that you may be released temporarily from the moral and legal obligation under which you find yourself. It is because of this impediment to your enlistment that the allowance is given." The separation allowance, then, is part of the soldier's pay. What he receives depends solely on his rank. No matter what may have been his previous status, or that of his family, his pay is determined by his rank as a soldier. The same is true of the separation allowance. If a millionaire and his coachman enlist as privates in the same regiment, their pay is the same. The separation allowance of the two wives will be identical. From the point of view of the military authorities, there can be no discrimination in the home. It makes no difference whether the woman

be rich or poor, high or low, childless or with children, living in an expensive city or in an inexpensive rural community, to all the separation allowance is the same. The Government cannot discriminate. It cannot give more to the woman who needs it, without at the same time giving increased allowance to many who do not.

When the war broke out it was early seen that special attention must be given to the problem of the soldier's home. To remodel the Canadian system at a moment's notice was impossible. Another plan, however, was put into effect, namely, to create an auxiliary that would consider only the home and its needs, that would give or withhold as local conditions required. This auxiliary is the Canadian Patriotic Fund. Under the management of voluntary committees free from all political or bureaucratic control, affording opportunity for men and women to render side by side equivalent service, independent, flexible, quickly responsive, the Canadian Patriotic Fund meets the need. It can and does discriminate. It considers only the condition of the soldier's family left behind. It determines in each case the amount necessary to bring that family to the level of decent comfortable subsistence. It means in 70,000 homes to-day throughout the Dominion of Canada, the difference between bare subsistence and decent living.

The fund has now been in operation for twenty-nine months. It has passed from the experimental stage. It has won the public confidence and esteem. It is deemed to have met the needs of the case. The only questions, then, which should now concern us are:

First: Is the need still here?

Second: Can this organization continue to meet this need?

Third: Is the method of securing funds the best possible?

It seems needless to affirm that the need is still here. It is here and will continue until the end of the war, and for months after. We occasionally hear people saying that they are tired of working, tired of canvassing, tired of giving. So long as 400,000 of Canada's best and bravest are giving every day of 52 weeks in the year for our defence, how can we refuse to devote four or five days of one week in the year to backing them up?



Again, the organization was never so well able to meet the need as to-day. The experience of two and a half years has taught us much. Gradually certain well-defined principles of action have come clearly forth. The methods of to-day, while not unchangeable, have been developed from the combined experience of hundreds of committees dealing with the thousands of families throughout the whole length and breadth of the Dominion. Complaints to-day are few, and fewer still when the facts are known. The appreciation in which the public to-day hold the Fund is perhaps our greatest asset.

As to the best method of securing financial support, there may be grounds for difference of opinion. On the whole, however, we believe that the course hitherto pursued is the best possible, and should be followed. Other methods are open to weighty objection, notably that of appealing to the Federal Government for support. We have believed, we still believe, that the great majority of the Canadian people are willing to give to so worthy a cause. The Patriotic Fund merely acts as their agent, their trustee, the channel between the voluntary giver and the soldier's home. Never has our appeal, when properly put, failed to secure an adequate response. So long, then, as it produces the result, what object is there in risking a change?

We have now entered on the third, and we hope the final, stage of the great world war. Everything that we are doing is on a greater scale than at any preceding time during the struggle. In this respect the operations of the Fund are no exception.

During 1914 we were called upon to provide in all \$511,000. We entered 1915 with a monthly demand amounting to \$225,000. By the end of the year this had increased to \$580,000 per month. We began 1916 with a monthly disbursement of approximately \$600,000. By August of last year our pay-roll reached \$950,000 per month. This has been the figure for the past six months. Our needs to-day, therefore, are 50 per cent. greater than when we appealed to the citizens of Montreal a year ago. Appreciation of this fact has been shown already wherever the third appeal has been made. We asked Toronto a fortnight ago for two and one-half million dollars. The amount raised was three and one-quarter mil-

lions. We asked Hamilton for \$500,000; they raised \$650,000. This week Ottawa is completing its campaign, and will exceed \$500,000. Brantford hitherto has given up about \$100,000, and is making it \$150,000 this week. The city councils of Ontario, which in 1916 gave us by way of grants \$1,350,000 have authorized payments during 1917 amounting to \$2,000,000. From the Province of Quebec through the Provincial Government a million dollars will this year be contributed to the Patriotic Fund.

We ask for all Canada, including Manitoba, \$13,500,000 to cover the needs of 1917. This burden has been equitably distributed over every province of the Dominion, and every city, county and town is called upon to take its share. Montreal has been asked to raise the same as before. We confidently believe, however, that the previous splendid contribution of \$2,500,000 will be surpassed.

There are to-day, including Manitoba, 70,000 men in khaki to whom a pledge has been given. There are 70,000 homes, containing 200,000 individuals, whose comfort and welfare depend on the fulfilment of that pledge. How can we expect the man at the front to fight bravely if he is consumed with anxiety as to the welfare of his dear ones left behind. How can we expect the wife and mother to stimulate recruiting if in her own home the absence of a breadwinner means hardship and want? It is absolutely essential that these pledges be kept. Success at the front demands it! Our honor requires it! Every Canadian has had and still has a choice to make. He is fortunate in not having a choice thrust upon him. To-day he is called upon to fight or pay. If he does not choose the former, there can be no reason why he should not do the latter. We must see it through!



(February 9th, 1917)

## THE VICTORY CAMPAIGN

---

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

---

I ESTEEM it a very high privilege indeed to be allowed to take part in this great undertaking which we are inaugurating here this afternoon. Some years ago there may have been certain individuals in Europe who firmly cherished the belief in their own hearts, that at the very outbreak of the war the British Dominions and colonies would take the earliest opportunity of severing their connection with an old and effete and worn-out little country situated somewhere in the North Sea. I wish we could welcome in our midst to-day some of the gentlemen who may have cherished those notions. I think this gathering and all that this gathering means would be a pretty good answer to some of those prognostications. Well, here we are, gentlemen, making an appeal, now the third, and we all earnestly hope and pray that it may be the last; but whether or not it be the last we are determined to carry on this campaign to the end. Day by day we read and hear of the heroism, courage and devotion of those who have gone forth to fight our battles, and though there are many miles of ocean between us and the great battlefields of Europe, yet we know that those men are fighting for and giving their lives for us here in Canada just as much as for France, for Belgium, for Poland and the other nations. We realize that we are fighting not for national aggrandizement or territorial acquisition; but that this great conflict is one of ideals and of principles. We stand to-day to uphold those great principles and those great institutions which we have inherited from our forefathers. We stand to-day for the very best traditions of British history, and we are determined that those civil and religious liberties which we have won in days gone by shall

be transmitted to future generations unimpaired and undiminished.

This appeal which is now being made throughout the length and breadth of Canada is to help to carry this great struggle to a final and lasting conclusion. It is not possible, for various reasons, for all of us to take our places in the trenches and the fighting line, but it is possible for every one of us to be able to do something to take his or her share of the material burden. This appeal is one which I know will be cordially responded to by all who realize the great cause for which we are contending. The purpose of this appeal is to provide means by which those who have sent those they love and rely upon shall not suffer, as far as it is possible to avoid it, by the loyalty and devotion of their sons, their husbands and their brothers. It is to make it easy for these men to go to the front. Of course no money the world can provide can ever take the place of the men, can ever repay the sacrifices which many of those women have made and are making day by day. But we want as far as lies in our power to be able to help those whose homes are now saddened, those who are awaiting news from those on whom they rely, now serving their country at the front. We want to make it certain that the women and children of those men shall not feel want, and to enable them to feel as much happiness as possible under the circumstances. It is for us who have made a solemn promise that in the absence of the men we would see that the women and children shall not suffer, it is for us to answer this appeal of the Patriotic Fund. No object, I know, can appeal more strongly and sympathetically to us, and the splendid response already given is a sure proof that those who are responsible for this movement have only got to name what they want and it will be placed in their hands, willingly, cordially and freely. Probably, previous to the war, many of us might have felt some hesitancy in making appeals for money assistance, but, gentlemen, this is not charity, it is a question of fulfilling a moral obligation. It is a question of doing our duty, and of doing what every individual must judge for himself with his own heart and mind is the right thing to do. At any rate this movement is one which we can confidently appeal to all to support. Wisely, if I may say so, those responsible for this movement and this



organization have arranged that some portion of the collection shall be devoted to the great work which is now carried on by the Red Cross Society. More and more, day by day, we see in the public journals and in private letters accounts of the admirable work which that great Society is carrying on. We all know in the early days of the war how acute and bitter was the suffering, largely due to lack of provision and lack of organization in connection with the wounded. We know to-day that the misery and discomfort must be great, but I hope we are able to say also that the fullest possible provision is being made to relieve it. These are the two objects of this campaign which has been initiated and inaugurated in this room this afternoon. I am sure that there is not a citizen of Montreal but will realize the opportunity that is afforded him, and that his response will be spontaneous and generous. We can, moreover, feel and know that it is our share to be able to do this. To-day we feel more than ever before that should the war last and another appeal be necessary, we shall be able to see that it is carried through. What we require to-day is unity of purpose and concentration of effort, and by that means we shall be able to play our part; and when the history of these tremendous times comes to be written this campaign carried on throughout Canada will be a bright spot in that story.

We know, if ever we had required further evidence, that the actions which our enemies have taken during the past few days absolutely discloses them in their fullest and truest light. Never before in the world's history has there been such a proclamation of ruthless, barbaric, cruel warfare declared not upon belligerents but upon humanity and civilization at large. That is what we are going to root out hereafter, and it is for people in this country to see that the means are provided by which we shall attain that object. I believe that the time may rapidly approach when we may begin to see the beginning of the end, but whether that be near or whether it be far, we have to steel our hearts, brace our nerves and see that no effort be spared, in order that however great the suffering may be we never allow such an act to be perpetrated again.

Canada has nobly done its part in the past. She has sent her sons to fight our battles, and she has done her part in

looking after those left at home, and it is for us to-day to see that whatever those women and children who have sacrificed their all might want shall not be wanting. We all realize our duty, we realize our responsibilities; it is left to turn that realization into action and to raise the necessary funds to enable this good work to be carried on without let or hindrance. You have the organization, you have the power, and I know when this campaign is closed it will be a proud record in the history of Canada, and a bright page in the glorious history of Montreal.



(February 12th, 1917)

## THE POLICE AND MAGISTRATES' COURTS OF NEW YORK

---

HON. JUDGE WM. McADOO

---

I HAD some hesitation about accepting this invitation to come and talk to you, which was extended to me by my good friend and your illustrious fellow-citizen, Mr. Holt. He said that I could come up and talk to the Club on any subject I liked, and I said: "Well, probably you would like to hear something about municipal government from our experience in New York." When I got here this morning, however, it seemed to me that my position was just a little false, because in this crisis, and under the circumstances existing in Montreal, to come here and discuss such a subject would be rather out of place, in fact would be very much like this. A great liner is in mid-Atlantic. A storm is raging, they are in the midst of a hurricane. The captain and officers are on the bridge. Enormous waves are beating against the decks, spray is washing down on them. They are steering the ship; the lives of all the passengers, the safety of the vessel depends upon the skill and courage of the crew. One of the passengers goes up on the bridge and says to the Captain: "I would like you, Captain, to stop all this and come down and adjust a difference which has occurred about the rules of the smoking room." It seems to me to talk to the people of Canada to-day about a subject such as this would be inopportune and indelicate on my part; at a time when so much is being done by Canada and her sons, and when undoubtedly you are keenly alive to, and deeply feel, the part they are taking in the great world war. The day is pretty cold as to the weather but the blood in my veins is pretty red as becomes an Irishman, and by the way, more power to them, I think your Irish Rangers

that you have recruited here in Montreal will do as much for peace and order in Ireland and for its future as St. Patrick himself.

I know, of course, coming from the United States, you possibly expected me to say something about that which is most dear to you. I know that the heart of Canada is in the trenches in Flanders and in France. There you have a priceless treasure beyond money and words to describe. Canada has given a wonderful exhibition of spontaneous patriotism. When I think that the population of Canada scarcely exceeds that of the State of New York, and that you have put over 400,000 men into uniform, transported most of them in the face of perils hitherto unknown, I take off my hat to Canada as a great and virile nation. If the supreme test comes to us in the Providence of God, as it may, under the lead of our great President in whom we have implicit faith, I certainly and sincerely hope that we shall make as good an exhibit as the people of Canada. I have recognized for many years that there was growing up to the north of us a nation not only rich in material resources, and with immense possibilities, but with a population marked by virility, power and intelligence, a self-reliant people. It is of national and world-wide importance that our two countries should live side by side in union, harmony and profound friendship, with respect each for the other. Canada and the United States are the heirs and joint custodians of the North American continent, founded by men and women devoted to liberty, justice, and dedicated to democracy in its largest and broadest sense. If democratic government cannot exist on this continent it is hopeless to look for its existence elsewhere. We have therefore common opportunities and joint responsibilities for which we will be answerable to a higher power. Our geographical boundaries on the ocean, and the physical markings of a continent rich in material resources, have made this a new world to mankind not only in resources but in freedom of thought and action.

I want now to say a few words having to do with good government.

There can be no question of the future growth and expansion of Canada, both as to population, wealth and resources. She will face social problems that she never had to face before,



and there will be greater need for good administration of her local governments. In our own great cities, with metropolitan populations embracing all classes, religions and almost all races in the world, and having wealth beyond an example in history, one of our greatest problems is municipal. In New York, for example, we have made during the last five years a progress so great as to astonish those who participated in it, and delight those who believed that the long-continued abuses were too deep-rooted to ever be overcome. We have made mistakes, we have compromised with corruption and condoned offences in the past. Wherein we have been wrong we are examples to be avoided, and wherein we have made progress on established and recognized lines our example may be of benefit to you. We have already begun to exchange international experience. We have been inspired to changes in our national law by Canadian examples, and I know that reforms which have been beneficial to the community on our side of the line might be of much value on this side. The problems of a democracy we have in a more acute form than you have over here in Canada, and on a larger scale. Your life has been closer to nature, more simple, and your population has been more homogeneous. You are now taking a turn in the road of national existence of great importance to you and to us.

After our Civil War in the United States for many years the returned soldier of both armies became the most powerful factor of the administration of Government. To the man who had bled on the field of battle, the flag had a double meaning. People of both the North and the South very properly believed that those who had suffered, sacrificed and endeavored in the supreme test of patriotism should have the highest honors in the State. In the early days the veterans of both Union and Confederate armies were prominent men and conspicuous leaders in both Houses. When a man was looking for a Government office the first question that was asked was: "What is his war record?" and that was considered the most valuable asset at the polls. Through splendid courage, spontaneous and generous sacrifice and an exhibition of chivalry which the whole world admires, the sons of Canada have written their names on the pages of universal history.

They will be coming back to you soon, very soon, we hope, and victorious. Many of them yet in the full vigor of young manhood, they will have an interpretation of nationalism not hitherto understood. They will demand as their right a participation in the management of the country for which they have done so much. My most earnest hope for you and for the United States is that these returned soldiers may show as much civic courage in times of peace as they have shown physical courage in times of war, and that their nationalism may not blind them to the fact that for better or worse the United States and Canada are bound together by ties of common interest not alone in material things, but for liberty and justice, which ties cannot and will never be broken. We want, as our good President has said, that in the future our liberty shall rest on a rock, not on jealousy, suspicion and competition, but on justice and righteous dealings with all peoples of all races, great and small, working out their own destinies in their own way, in a joint endeavor for a higher and better civilization. We do not believe that an armed band with hostile intent will ever cross this long border, marked only in its course by the exchange of loving hearts and the warm clasp of friendly hands. In the days to come when your nation bounds into new life, and other lands and nations have contributed to your community, when your cities have grown to great populations, you will have problems to solve and questions that must be answered, questions economic, political and social; and you must through much travail get the best possible government that you can for your great cities.

Carlyle has said: "All government, in its last analysis, consists in the Town Council," so the political and social difficulties of our cities have been the most important with which the large American cities had to deal with. New York was afflicted with what seemed to be a hopeless situation of chaos. The police government of New York has wrecked every decent administration. I will, therefore, with your permission, just say a few words briefly on the police of great American cities. I intended to talk about the police and then give a foreword on the magistrates, but when I came here this morning I realized that in this atmosphere and in this



place the larger questions with which we are confronted in this great world's crisis must be spoken of first, and the time remaining to speak of the police of New York is very short. However, I will give you a brief sketch of my subject. I will draw for you, first the old New York policemen, and then sketch the new one. The old policeman was generally an Irishman. The Irish police made a great name for himself, because he would just as soon fight as not, and during the troublous times of our Civil War, when our city was rent by grave riots, the police made a most heroic name for themselves; and in spite of many failings, for which they were generally not responsible, one thing that stood out was their courage. The average New York policeman of the olden time was appointed as a matter of pull. When an Irishman landed in America, having good red blood in his veins, he wanted to get to work at the Government as soon as possible. So we developed a very broad-shouldered, supple fellow who looked well in his uniform. After a period on the police force, what with extra feeding and washing the feed down with the proper mixture, he became rather a stout man with a large scenic development at the back. He had to stand well with the political party in power; he had to get his place by influence, and unfortunately from the time he was appointed there was an atmosphere around him that he had to obey. The man who had him appointed was apt to tell him not to notice when the fellow who kept the corner saloon kept open a little after the hour, and not to interfere with the man who belonged to the proper club, to see certain things by looking the other way, and so forth; and I want to say that you cannot have in Montreal or anywhere else an efficient and decent police system if you allow politics to enter into the recruiting of it, the making of it or the managing of it. The old policeman had courage and he was not inefficient. He had good instincts and good intentions, but he was tied hand and foot by the manner of his appointment. Then very gradually we began to recruit the police by the regular civil service examinations. The old policeman, the fat man you saw in the eighties, possessed little or no technical knowledge. But now the New York police force, 6,000 strong, which you see go down Fifth Avenue in May, is the envy and admiration of the profes-

sional soldier. They are as fine a lot of men as you can see anywhere.

Now the Civil Service examinations, both physical, mental and moral, are complete, and they have to pass the most rigorous test, and a very critical and thorough doctor's examination. The examination is handled by the Municipal Civil Service Commission, the eligible lists framed from them and the men taken on in the order in which they stand on the list, unless there is something wrong elsewhere. By recruiting the force in that way we have dispensed with the other type, and we now have intelligent men who are entirely free to use their own judgment. Because the new man owes his appointment to no one, he is under no handicap, he has no strings tied to him, and he represents and personalizes the law of the State of New York in himself, and that is what should be the condition in a community like ours. In the old days they used to have a sort of examination to go through, and this is about the way it used to be handled. A "political boss" who wanted to get a certain man on the force would go to the Chief Examiner and say, "now this is so and so, and I would like to endorse him." The Chief Examiner would respond: "Any man you endorse will be passed. Has he any defect?" "No," would be the answer, "nothing except a glass eye. In fact he may have two glass eyes, for all I know." The Chief Examiner would then see that the man, when it came to a reading test, was coached as to what the matter was, so that his defective sight would not be apparent, and so the applicant would be passed and appointed.

You cannot have a good administration, so far as police are concerned, unless you have the earnest co-operation of the magistrates. When I was Police Commissioner I regret to say that there was bitter animosity between the magistrates and police. They had no sympathy with the police. My relations with them were strained and I very rarely called upon them for aid. What they said about me almost equalled what I thought about them.

I have studied the police system in London and have written an article embodying my experience and opinion of the London police; and while the London policemen are undoubtedly a grand body of men and the co-operation



between the Courts and them is most impressive, yet the New York police in their sphere are equally as good a body of men. It was in 1910 we began to consolidate the magistrates' courts and we created the office of Chief City Magistrate, which is administrative as well as political. I have charge of thirty-nine magistrates, thirty courts, and all the buildings. Seven hundred employees are directed from my office. It is an immense office. It supersedes the system which existed under the old regime. I will briefly tell you what the Magistrates' courts were like before the reform of 1910 was put into operation. We'll say it is a hot morning in July. The courtroom is crowded. Women who want their husbands disciplined, women who have been deserted, with their children beside them, all sorts of women sit side by side with the women of the streets. At the door is a policeman. He has probably been there for the last ten years, and if your appearance suits him he'll let you in; otherwise he'll say: "Get along out of this." I noticed one thing when I first went in to these courts, that they were entirely unsanitary, sordid and depressing. The court air was heavy. Most likely none of it had been allowed to escape for the last fifty years. I cannot understand why more of our magistrates did not die, except on the theory that when you get a whole collection of different microbes in your system you are impervious to disease. Well, here were all these people waiting for the Court to open. A number of shyster lawyers would be running to and fro. These shyster lawyers had their runners looking for business, and when you entered the aisle you did not see the Judge at all because they had a sort of net made of wire which interposed between the audience and the chair, and then below the bench they had a bridge. The only thing you might see was the top of the Magistrate's head. Well, the policeman would bring forth some evidence, he would be cross-examined in a low tone, and this big policeman occupied the whole stage so the chances are that the defendant was put in the background, the shyster lawyer, the policeman, and various others would talk away and the public heard nothing and the defendant never knew anything until he was shoved into the prison or out of the door.

Then there was a place called the Detention Pen, and

into this Pen the station wagons brought these human cattle, men and women. On a busy morning there would be fifty people in this Pen at once, and you can get some idea of the problem when I tell you that 250,000 people were arraigned in the Magistrates' Court in New York in a year. This Pen might be described as a net let down into the waters of the underworld every night, bringing up strange human fish. Then there were the agents for these shyster lawyers bribing the policemen to let them into these pens, and these agents playing upon the fears of these unfortunate people. They would advise them to go to so and so for legal help, as otherwise they would never get out. They would say: "If you have \$500 he will get you out." If the fellow did not have any money this man would advise him to get an adjournment and get the money from his relatives or friends. And so they exploited these poor human fish. The newspapers had the full run of these pens. There would be cases of decent women who had been in New York shopping and had yielded to a sudden temptation and taken something from a shop. It is a disease in her case, probably, and she needs kindly treatment. She gives a false name to save husband and children and reputation. Well the harpies of the law and the harpies of the Press are there and the woman's story is taken and exploited, which brings endless misery to the children and exposes the husband in a way that is abominable. The law says that no one shall go near those detention places but the officers of the law. The day I took my present office that law was enforced, and since I have been in office no woman or man gets near that room unless I know just who it is, and he is made answerable to me for his good conduct. I insist that proper respect be shown to these unfortunate people.

Now in New York we have fine police officers under an honest administration. We trained those men in the past summer not alone as policemen but as soldiers. If trouble comes to New York tomorrow we have as fine a body of men as any ten thousand soldiers who ever wore a uniform. We have complete harmony between the police and the magistrates. The Police Commissioner and myself are public servants, for the public good. The Courts are conducted with the utmost decorum. Everybody rises when the Judge



enters. We conduct these courts as law courts, humanly and decently, as they should be conducted in a highly civilized community like New York. We have a night court exclusively for women and one for men. We have a Court for children and minor offences. The Municipal Court tries cases of violation of City Ordinances, upholding the departments such as Health, Fire and Labor, also Park. We have a Traffic Court which deals alone with speeding and violation of such ordinances. It is given to me to assign the magistrates, and no community in the world was ever served better by more honorable men and upright men than are those magistrates who conduct our Courts of New York.

Now I have trespassed sufficiently upon your time. I regret that I have not time to say to you all that my heart feels for Canada, for her soldiers who are upholding her honor, and for her cause. I bid you Godspeed from a warm heart. I hope the best for Canada, and through Canada for the world. I am with you, heart and soul, in the great fight you are making for civilization, founded on justice, righteousness and truth.





*(February 19th, 1917)*

# THE WATERWAYS TREATY, AND THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION

---

P. B. MIGNAULT, K.C.

---

THE Waterways Treaty has been a most important one for Canada. It has had this effect, that it has given to Canada a sort of international status. Canada appears on equal terms with the United States, before one Court constituted by the two countries, and in appearing before that Court and conducting business with the United States, thanks to that Treaty Canada enjoys many of the attributes of a sovereign state.

I will ask you first to follow me on the map of Canada, while I trace the boundary between the two countries. From Passamoquoddy Bay, on the Atlantic Ocean, follow the River St. Croix to its source, then due north until we meet the St. John River ; follow the St. John River until it receives the waters of the St. Francis, then following the waters of the St. Francis first in a westerly direction, and then southwesterly, outline that truncated cone which is the State of Maine, which always seems to me to be a kind of bite taken out of the territory of Canada. Following the frontier we go down southwesterly until we meet the 45th parallel. Follow the 45th parallel until we strike the St. Lawrence River, follow the course of the St. Lawrence River until we get as far as Lake Ontario, across Lake Ontario to the Niagara River, go up the Falls to Lake Erie, across Lake Erie until we reach the Detroit River, up the Detroit River to Lake St. Clair, across Lake St. Clair and along the St. Clair River to Lake Huron, due north up Lake Huron to St. Mary's River, up the rapids of the St. Mary's River

to Lake Superior, across Lake Superior, then first northwesterly then southwesterly until we reach the mouth of the Pigeon River. There we take the old portage route which was used by the fur traders of a century ago, and we follow a chain of lakes until we reach Rainy Lake, across a portion of the lake, and taking the Rainy River we go down to the Lake of the Woods, up the Lake of the Woods to the Northwest Angle Inlet, then down again to the south until we reach the 49th parallel, and then due west until we reach the Straits of Georgia and the Pacific Ocean. This is the frontier between the two countries. It is more than half, and less than two-thirds, water. It is an invisible line, which crosses our vast and pathless inland seas at an uncharted and unmarked point where the American waves meet the Canadian waves, both as sparkling in the bright sunlight. While the line is indicated on land by a post here and there, on the Great Lakes and on the rivers it is invisible.

There are two great lake and river systems traversed by the boundary between the two countries; the lesser and the greater one. The lesser one is traced by the old Portage route and the lakes leading to Rainy Lake, Rainy River and the Lake of the Woods, then leaving the Lake of the Woods at the Winnipeg River, going to Lake Winnipeg and thence by Nelson River to the Hudson Bay. The other and the greater system is that of the Great Lakes, properly so called, and crosses by the St. Lawrence River to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean. The outlet of both systems is through Canada.

It was extremely important for the United States to obtain the right of free navigation of the St. Lawrence River to the Atlantic Ocean. This right was necessary because the Erie Canal was absolutely inadequate, as it is even to-day, for the purposes of navigation. On the other hand the natural route between Chicago and the sea was by the St. Lawrence River. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the privilege of navigation on the St. Lawrence and the Canals was first granted to the United States by Great Britain by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. The Reciprocity Treaty was denounced by the United States in 1866, and the navigation privilege was renewed by the Treaty of Washington in 1871.



It is still in force, and the navigation privilege was continued, including the right of navigating Canals by the Waterways Treaty which I have to refer to, Canada getting in addition the privilege of navigating Lake Michigan, which under the Treaty was not regarded as a boundary water.

There has been an incessant effort to devise some method of settling questions between the United States and Canada more expeditiously than they could be settled by the cumbrous method of diplomacy. Just think how cumbrous the system was. Suppose certain lands in the United States were flooded by reason of the construction of a dam within Canada. The complaint was naturally sent to the department of the American Government concerned, say the War Department, which had control over all navigable streams. The War Department wrote to the State Department, the State Department wrote to the British Embassy, the British Embassy wrote to the Foreign Office, the Foreign Office wrote to the Colonial Office, the Colonial Office wrote to the Governor General, and then the Governor General in Council brought the question before the Ministers in Canada and the matter was probably referred to the Department of Railways and Canals, or possibly the Public Works Department and a report was sought for. When the report was obtained it went back all over that circuitous route until it reached Washington. You can imagine the delay which was caused by this system of procedure. The matter has been very much simplified; now, when the British Embassy receives a letter from the Secretary of State at Washington calling his attention to some trouble caused by the Canadians, the British Embassy immediately wires or writes to the Governor General, so the double crossing of the ocean is avoided. There were several efforts made, as I have said, to devise some means of settling difficulties. The Quebec Conference in 1898 which most of you will remember, shipwrecked over the question of the Alaska Boundary, afterwards settled by an International Joint Commission composed of the Lord Chief Justice of England, two Canadians, and two Americans. In 1905 at the request of the United States there was formed the old International Waterways Commission, for which our commission is often taken. This commission, appointed to report on and suggest methods

of improving the waterways between Canada and the United States, led up to the Treaty of 1909. This Treaty, the negotiations for which took two years, was drawn up by the following representatives:—on behalf of Great Britain and Canada, James Bryce and Sir George Gibbon, on behalf of the United States, Senator Root, then Secretary of State. It was signed on the 11th of January, 1909, and ratification accepted on the 5th of May, 1910. It was made for five years with a clause that at the end of the five years it should continue automatically until one country denounced it by a twelve months' notice to the other. The Treaty is going on now automatically, having outlived the time limit stipulated. I have called it the Waterways Treaty. I am somewhat at a loss to give you an official title. The titles given by the Canadian Statutes and the Proclamation of the President of the United States differ. In the Proclamation by President Taft he refers to it as "A Treaty between the United States and Great Britain relating to boundary waters and questions arising between the United States and Canada." This shows how comprehensive the Treaty is. It refers to even more than boundary waters, and includes in some respects rivers crossing the boundary. This Treaty created the permanent International Joint Commission, which is composed of three commissioners, appointed by His Majesty the King, on the recommendation of the Governor General in Council, and three commissioners appointed by the President of the United States.

I desire to explain briefly the jurisdiction of this Commission, and in doing so I wish to avoid any technical expressions. I will choose some difficult cases and show you how exactly the jurisdiction of the Commission is called into play. Take the case of a boundary stream. If a company or individual wishes to develop a water power and construct a dam, it is necessary, inasmuch as this will cause a rise of level, to obtain the authorization of the two Governments, within their respective jurisdictions, and the approval of the International Joint Commission, which may impose conditions, such as compensation for land owners whose lands may be submerged, the construction of remedial works, or anything of that nature. Or take a river crossing the frontier, say Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River, Lake Memphremagog and the Magog



River. The discharge is into Canada in both cases. If the discharge raises the level of the lake, inasmuch as you raise the level of the waters in the United States, the construction or even the maintenance of a dam is absolutely illegal unless approved by the International Joint Commission, as provided by Article 4 of the Treaty. Here are two cases, in which the Commission acts as a Court without any appeal whatever from its judgment. It has supreme authority under the Treaty.

Let us take a case where the jurisdiction of the Commission is most useful. There is a controversy between the two countries, both of which, in order to arrive at a settlement, desire to inquire into the facts and to have recommendations by an impartial body. Either country can refer the question to the International Joint Commission to investigate the facts, report thereon and make such recommendations as it may see proper. We have two such cases now before the Commission. There is the case of the levels of the Lake of the Woods, the dam being constructed at Kenora, Ont.; and the case of rights in the waters of the Lake, which in Minnesota flooded out numerous farms on the Minnesota shore. This raised an international question and it was referred to the Commission for report on the circumstances and facts, and also for a recommendation of a method which would conduce to the most advantageous use of the waters of the Lake. Then there is also the pollution question. The great cities of Detroit and Buffalo, situated on boundary streams, discharge their sewers in the waters of the Niagara and the Detroit rivers, and it was claimed that both rivers were very largely contaminated by the discharge. This question was referred to the Commission and they were asked in the first place to determine whether pollution really existed, and in the second place to suggest a remedy. The Commission appointed engineers and after a very elaborate study determined that the waters were grossly polluted and they are now considering a remedy. Here is a third type of case in which the commission has jurisdiction. In this case only a report is required, but of course the recommendations from an impartial body could not be lightly disregarded. A fourth case is that the commission at the request of the two countries can act

as a Court of Arbitration and decide a question in final resort between the two countries. This is by Article 10 of the Treaty and it is the most important provision of the Treaty called into play in order to avoid friction between the two countries.

I desire to say just a few words about the Chicago diversion; the Commission has no jurisdiction there because Lake Michigan is not considered as a boundary water. The permit granted in 1901 was for 4,167 cubic feet per second. There have been many applications for increase, and all have been refused. It is greatly to the credit of the Government of the United States, the consistent refusal it has given to Chicago; but Chicago is not deterred by the refusals. It appears by the report of the Chief Engineer of the War Department that at the present moment Chicago, authorized to take 4,167 second feet, is now taking 8,000 second feet, causing a daily withdrawal from Lake Michigan of 690 million cubic feet per day and a permanent lowering of the surface of Lake Michigan by five inches. Chicago, we understand, considers taking 10,000 cubic feet per second, and if they take it it would mean a lowering of Lakes Michigan and Huron by 6.9 inches, Erie, 5.4 inches and Ontario 4.5 inches. This is at mean lake stages; the lowering of the water would be more extreme at low stages, just where it is important to have an abundance of water. As I have said the United States Government has consistently refused to authorize any increase, and the Attorney General of the United States issued two injunctions and these injunctions are now pending. There are about a thousand pages of evidence and the case is being pressed to a final decision.

Passing over many other provisions of the Treaty, I wish to emphasize two things which I consider extremely hopeful features. The Commission, since it was organized five years ago, has never divided on national lines. I can render to my American colleagues the testimony that never have I seen any one of them stand for an American contention because it was an American contention and because he was an American; and on the other hand I have seen farmers in Minnesota, whose farms have been drowned out by the construction of a dam at Kenora, saying that they would will-



ingly abandon the decision of the case to the members of the Canadian section of the International Joint Commission, convinced that they would get justice; and, gentlemen, they would have had justice. A second point I desire to emphasize is that the Commission since it has been formed has studiously avoided anything like technicalities. We have endeavored to get at the facts and to disregard objections of a more or less technical nature. The Commission meets at different cities. There is a regular meeting on the first Tuesday of April in Washington and on the first Tuesday of October in Ottawa. Outside of these, the meetings are special ones. We have gone to the people. We have met in different cities on the North American Continent, in Canada and the United States, we have gone near the place where the trouble existed, brought the people together and said to them: "Try and confer among yourselves to see whether you cannot agree on some points"; and we have found that this method has immensely simplified the work which we had to do to arrive at an equitable solution. The people are convinced that no technicalities will ever stand in the way of a substantial finding agreeable to truth and justice, so that any international difference and any enmity which might be caused by an international difference, may be wiped away.

Well, gentlemen, I would ask you if this is not a speedier, a better and a more commonsense way of settling international troubles than by going to war. For the first time in my address, gentlemen, I have uttered that word, "war," which is uppermost in our minds and never absent from our thoughts. I was freshly reminded of Canada's position in this world war one radiant evening in June last year, at Niagara Falls. I started out from the Canadian shore to cross that beautiful structure, the cantilever bridge, which stretches across the abyss above the superb waters of the Niagara River. At the entrance to the bridge there is a Canadian military post guarding access to the land. Near the center of the bridge was a single sentry, a musket on his shoulder, bayonet fixed, who paced up and down, always stopping and wheeling round when he reached the spot within three feet of the boundary line, as though he feared his bayonet might extend over into a foreign land. He was a citizen soldier who had left his home

and his peaceful vocation to take up arms for the defense of the British Empire; and as I went on my way towards that land of wealth and plenty on the opposite shore, I turned back to look again towards that sentinel silhouetted against the glowing sky and standing on the very confines of the British Empire. He seemed to me to personify the spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion which has caused citizen soldiers from one end of the Empire to the other to spring up in order to rally around the old flag. And as I reached the other shore, on the confines of that great country which has the same traditions and ideals as we have—only Canada is fighting for her ideals—I thought what a pleasant thing it is that war should be unthinkable between our two peoples. I thought also—and I know you will share my hope—that when this war will be over and the “after-the-war” problems will have to be considered, what the two democracies of the West have done for the maintenance of peace and the settlement of international differences will be an object lesson to the world, in the reconstruction of the social fabric on a new basis, for the prevention of future wars.



(February 26th, 1917)

## MASTERS OF DESTINY

---

By W. H. RANDALL

---

JUST for a moment let us get away from the heartache of this intense hour and lift our thoughts into the realm of the ideal, for after all ideals are the pushing force of life. What—and I presume before long I shall have to include myself—what are we all fighting for, if not for the restoration of the ideals? I know that every man in this room wants peace, but he wants peace only when the security of the foundation of peace may be established. I believe that we are on the verge of the greatest liberation that the world has seen since the French Revolution; that we are at the dawn of a civilization of brotherhood both individually and nationally beyond anything the world has ever conceived. I believe that God to-day is fighting through man against the darkness of false conceptions, against the night of the world, against the materialism of the world, just as though a great spiritual Samson had begun tearing down the columns of the temple of materialism and darkness, in order that the true temple of God might appear in the hearts of mankind through spiritual and political freedom. Although to-day we are in the convulsions of war, beyond it is the great spiritual power that shall bring humanity into a relation of peace and security and happiness. The great convulsions of life are hard to understand and hard to endure, but there is wisdom back of them. Every visible material event is inter-related with an invisible spiritual force, for all the phenomena of nature are so inter-dependent that one acts and re-acts upon the other. It would appear on the face of it as though civilization were really being destroyed; but the great principle of growth is a principle which involves three expressions: the decomposing, the con-

serving and the constructive processes. When new constructive growth takes place, we see first the appearance of keen competition, around which the constructive principle adds that new growth which is to be the maturity of its effort. Therefore, looking upon this great convulsion as a throes of the world giving birth to a new standard of civilization, this decomposing, destructive principle is really only the appearance of that behind it, which is the composing power of God in the world to man.

Very often people say to me—why don't you talk about practical things? I want to call your attention to the fact that we pride ourselves upon being practical. What has been the result of the last hundred years of the practical rule of the affairs of the world by mankind? Can anything be more unpractical than the very war in which we are plunged to-day? If we had followed that which we call the unpractical or the ideal; if we had obeyed that which has been given to us as the great creative law rather than the law of the created beings, should we not to-day have a civilization that would be a nearer expression of all that we deem greatest in life, a civilization of a beauty, of a security that would have been far, far removed from that which our practical efforts seem to have produced?

Human undertakings are of two kinds—the universal and the personal. The result of every universal effort is infinite—the result of every personal effort is finite. The great problems which confront the world to-day are the problems of the universal. They are bringing to our attention things by which we are developing and growing. We may almost say the universal problems are divine and the personal problems of life are human. What in this day is the greatest universal question? What in this day is to be the outcome of the agitation that we are in? It seems to me that we are all tending towards a condition of life in which we shall have a new national morality, a new international relation, a new civilization based upon the security of these higher ideals.

Tolstoy, in one of his books, said: "We spend a great part of our lives trying to analyze the mystery of life; but there is a Persian in a Turkish prison who holds the key." Tolstoy referred to a great spiritual movement that had arisen in



Persia in the middle of the last century. The founders were one called Baha o'llah and Abdul Baha, his son. The creative power of the message of these two men is a message of unity, from which flows the ideals of the oneness of the world of humanity and of unity in every line of life. The fundamental, underlying principle of unity in all the great religions of the world is concealed by the antagonisms by which, through our ignorance, we have misunderstood our brothers. Abdul Baha has been here in Montreal; he has been in England; he spoke in the churches there on this question of unity, he was invited by Archdeacon Wilberforce to speak in St. John's, Westminster; he spoke at numerous public gatherings and in the churches of the United States, and in all these utterances he gave to the world the impulse towards this new birth, that is of unity. I am going to read just a short quotation from a speech of Abdul Baha in 1912 in reference to the present war.

"We are on the eve of the battle of Armageddon, referred to in the Sixteenth Chapter of Revelations. The time is two years hence when a spark in the Balkans will set aflame the whole of Europe. By 1917 kingdoms will be annihilated, a cataclysm will rock the earth. Then and thereafter all nations shall be as one faith and all men as brothers, and these ruinous wars shall pass away and the most great peace shall come and man shall not glory in this, that he loves his country, but rather in this, that he loves his kind."

To me the masters of destiny are the great prophets who have revealed the truth of God to the world of humanity. The coming of every great prophet has always brought in the wake of his power a new and a great civilization. If we look back and read carefully the world's history we shall find that the coming of Moses brought and welded into power the great nation of the Israelites and the bounties that flowed from that great and wonderful civilization. As we go on we find that a great civilization, the civilization of which we are a part, came through the instrumentality of Jesus Christ. At that time skepticism was rampant, philosophies flourished which were of no real religious value, but through the power of the word of God as expressed in Jesus this great Western civilization has arisen. For several hundred years after the

advent of Jesus the purity of the spiritual teachings of Jesus were transmuted into the life of the people, but it seems now almost as though we had lost that spiritual power. It seems as though mankind understood the teaching only, and was not really lifted up by the spirit, the advent of which He brought into the world. I believe that we are now on the verge of a new, great spiritual awakening; that the old materialistic standards of life are being swept away, and that there will appear in this composing power of civilization, a power, a force, which shall mean to mankind brotherhood and love, and the reign of peace and prosperity. We hardly realize the things of which we are in the midst, any more than we realize to-day we are in the atmosphere that we breathe, although it is the support of our life. I think this great and new spiritual awakening which has come to the world will become more apparent as the years pass on. Looking back sixty or seventy years it seems as if then the world awoke from the sleep of the Middle Ages. It seems to have emerged out from the age of candlelight into the age of electricity. Our science has been almost entirely developed within the last fifty or sixty years. We have learned more in sixty years, as far as material science is concerned, than the world had learned in six thousand years. Humanity seems to have taken a new lease of life and to have awakened from this darkness of the past. The inventions of the railroad, of the cable, of the telegraph, of steamers, have all brought the different countries of the world into a closer relation. They have made the physical civilization which can make possible a real spiritual brotherhood.

Our science is acceptable by any and every nation, because it is impersonal; our medicine, all our inventions are accepted by other nations. Even nations for whom we have antagonisms, accept our impersonal expressions, our art, music, science. All these things which are impersonal are acceptable to every nation, because it is not the impersonal that antagonizes but the personal. The material foundations of the last fifty or sixty years have tended towards the growth of that part of our lives whereby we are being prepared for the relation of brotherhood in the spiritual part of our natures. It is self-evident that humanity is at variance. Different



nationalities, tongues, creeds, religions—all the peoples differ. The reconciliation of these great antagonistic things cannot be brought about by outer means, but can be brought about through the power of the one spirit, just as we all receive life from the one source. We are apt to think that the creative power in the terrestrial world is light, because that is what we see; but you know that the great power upon which our terrestrial energy depends is heat and not light. Heat is the source of the growing process of everything in nature. Were it not so we should have flowers in the winter because we have the winter light just the same. Therefore, correspondingly, the great creative power in the world of humanity is love. It is love one for another, it is also sacrifice one for another. I came across the other day the sermon given by the Archbishop of York at the coronation of your present king, and I want to read just two paragraphs from this perfectly magnificent oration. He concludes by saying:

“May this great people make and seal this day a covenant of service with our fathers’ God; for in His service is the perfect freedom. May it make for understanding among the nations of the world. May it stand out as a nation that serves the sacred cause of righteousness, peace and justice among men. We stand at the threshold of great and far-reaching changes. The cause of service may be great sacrifice, but it is one in which abides unchangeable the claim of our mother to the loyal devotion of her sons and daughters. Let us make the high resolve that whether here at home or in the new lands across the sea, we shall be found, please God, among the people, as those that serve.”

What a magnificent tribute to a people! What a magnificent dedication to service! When we recognize more fully the true meaning of this word “service” and begin to dedicate our lives to the service of our brothers, to our country, and to humanity at large, we then shall begin to reap the fruits of that which service brings, and that is the true, underlying spiritual brotherhood, the unity of humanity.

God has chosen at different times in history certain nations to be the cup-bearers of his choicest wine to the lips of humanity, to enlarge and increase their love, to broaden their vision and to strengthen their faith. The sun of the

British Empire never sets. It shines upon all races, upon all peoples, upon all religions, and I pray that you may consider yourselves, as the Archbishop of York has said, a chosen people to serve humanity, and in the end to achieve through your own glory a true brotherhood and a united world.



(March 5th, 1917)

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MINING INDUSTRY TO CANADA

---

By ARTHUR A. COLE

---

I WISH to express to you my appreciation of the privilege you have given me of speaking to you to-day on the Mining Industry in Canada. I have no apology to make for the subject, and if you do not realize the importance of the industry more when you leave here to-day the fault will lie with the speaker and not with the subject.

Mining Engineers, in the practice of their profession, are generally called away from the larger centres of civilization to labour in the development of the newer parts of the country. Our work carries us into action and away from public speaking and we are apt to forget that the importance of the mining industry, which is self evident to us, may not be so apparent to the outsider. The great war is emphasizing every day the great importance of our industry, but even yet too little attention is paid to this subject.

When the war broke out our industry was woefully unprepared to meet the calls upon it, and while much has been done since then, much still remains to be done. In this reorganization a well-informed and sympathetic public is a material assistance; and it is for that reason that I welcome the opportunity of addressing such an influential body as the Canadian Club of the industrial metropolis of our fair Dominion.

Two weeks ago you all read Premier Lloyd George's speech which pointed out on what he considered the ultimate success of the Allied cause depended. But did you all note how large a space was devoted to mining? He called for

more men to work the industries at home, but particularly for experienced woodsmen. What for? To cut mine props for the coal mines. Then the next two paragraphs refer entirely to means of increasing the production of iron ore. Surely it is significant that the coal and iron situations are discussed at length and disposed of before the food situation is even mentioned.

Before coming to the mining industry in Canada, let us glance for a few moments at the western battle front and see how that line is influenced by the minerals in its vicinity. Germany for years past has paid particular attention to her mining and metallurgical industries, and this has proved a great source of strength to her. If you will examine the map of Belgium you will find that the general line of advance of the German Army through Belgium was along the valley of the Meuse. This we find is the line of the principal coal deposits of Belgium, which are located at Liège, Huy, Mons and Charleroi and the newly discovered deposits to the north of Liège known as the Campine field. The coal output of Belgium the year before the war was twenty-two and a half million tons. The principal French coal field, now in the possession of the Germans, is the field of Valenciennes, which is the continuation of the main Belgian field, the whole being known as the Hainault Basin. The coal output of France for the year 1913 was forty million tons, the bulk of which was probably supplied by the Valenciennes field.

Before 1870 French territory extended east to the Rhine. At the close of the Franco-Prussian war Bismarck laid it down as axiomatic that the valley of the Rhine must be secured to Germany by the possession of both banks, and in order to do this the Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were taken from the French. In Alsace the natural boundary between the two countries was the Vosges Mountains, but when it came to Lorraine there was no such natural boundary. There were, however, valuable iron ore areas, so the boundary was arranged to throw all of the then known iron deposits into German territory. As soon as France began to recover from the results of the war her engineers started boring on the French side of the line. A simple explanation of the structural geology of this area is that the different formations



are slightly tilted from the horizontal and dip gently towards the valley of Paris. Thus in travelling from Lorraine towards Paris you cross the different geological formations at right angles in gradually ascending scale. The iron-bearing formation outcrops in the German-acquired Province of Lorraine; but the deposits continue in gradually increasing depth coming West in French territory. The French engineers soon located the continuation of these iron deposits by means of bore holes and at once began development. In the face of considerable difficulties, by the year 1914 they had developed a larger iron industry than that on the German side of the line, and had greater ore reserves.

The French deposits occur in what is known as the Briey Valley and these form one of the most important iron ore areas in Europe. The production of this area in 1913 was about thirty million tons. This area has been in the possession of the Germans since the beginning of the war, and it has been estimated that last year it supplied 60 per cent. of the total German iron ore production.

The possession by the Germans of this iron field along with the possession of the Valenciennes coal field deprived the French at one swoop of the greater part of their iron and coal productions. This, of course, was a great blow to the French and a corresponding source of strength to the Germans. The Briey Valley, containing the French iron ore deposits, lies between Verdun and Metz. The most plausible reason for the German attack at Verdun was that they knew that if a breach could be made in the French lines at Verdun, which was one of the strongest points in the line, it would mean that the French would have to consolidate their lines at a considerable distance back from Verdun; this would remove the iron deposits from the immediate danger zone.

Germany's dependence on the Briey Iron Field is shown by the following communication which on the 20th of May, 1915, was sent to Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg by Germany's six great industrial and agricultural associations.

"The manufacture of shells demands iron in a quantity so great that no one could have formed an idea that so much could be used, had not our need of it been demonstrated. If we had not been able to double the production of rough iron

and steel since the month of August, 1914, it would have been impossible to continue the war.

"We might count the war as very nearly lost should our production of minette (the Lorraine material) be disturbed."

This quotation shows how important French iron is to the Germans. The Belgian coal mines and the iron mines of Briey are the two elements that the Germans most require for their war. Loss of these elements, Deputy Engerand declares, would mean the *annihilation of German military power*. Let us hope and pray for the early accomplishment of this most desirable end. We can now see that there is more than a mere sentimental feeling on the part of Frenchmen in wishing to bring Alsace and Lorraine back under French rule.

Now let us come home to Canada. It is sometimes salutary to look at ourselves through the eyes of an outsider. Just a year ago, an article appeared in the National Geographic Magazine from the pen of Ex-President Taft, on Great Britain and Her Daughters. Mr. Taft is amazed that Canada should be ready to add to her national debt at the rate of \$1,000,000 a day in support of her military policy, in view of her existing heavy obligations incurred in the construction of railways by pledging her credit to aid them. He says, "In the Intercolonial, in the Canadian Pacific, in the Grand Trunk Pacific, and in the Canadian Northern, obligations have been assumed that might well frighten a country with 8,000,000 of people." Our great railway construction is the point that strikes Mr. Taft. Most Canadians, if asked why we have so much railway development, will answer that it was primarily with the object of opening up our vast agricultural areas. Very likely they would be right. Now I do not wish for a moment to minimize the importance of the agricultural industry. It is our most important basic industry, but we should try and see things in their true perspective. Now that we have the railways, who supplies the business to them?

Let us take for example the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario Railway—Ontario's Government Railway, with which I have the privilege of being connected. The T. & N. O. Ry. was projected as a colonization railroad to open up the large agricultural areas to the north of Lake Temiskaming, known



as the "Clay Belt" of Northern Ontario; now let us see who provides the freight for this railway.

During the last five years the mining industry has been accountable for 47 per cent. of the total freight revenue, while agriculture gave nearly 13 per cent. or a little over a quarter that of the mining industry. Thus the railway was built for the farmer but the miner supplies the freight. If the railway was forced to depend on the farmer for its freight revenue it is likely that we would have to be content with one or two mixed trains each way weekly instead of as at present from two to three up-to-date passenger trains daily.

Perhaps you may think this an exceptional case, so let us consider figures covering the whole of Canada. In the report for the fiscal year 1913, the Department of Railways and Canals published figures from which we may gather the following. For the year 1913 the products of agriculture handled by the Canadian railways formed 16 per cent. of the total and during the same period the products of mines was 38 per cent. of the total or more than twice as much, and these percentages were practically the same for the six years previous. The manufacturer need not think that he makes a better showing than that, for manufactures come 1 per cent. less than agriculture (14.8).

If you are still unconvinced of the importance of the mining industry let us extend our investigation a little further afield. If we examine figures prepared by the Interstate Commerce Commission covering freight traffic over the railways of the United States we find that for two years which were considered normal, products of agriculture were 9 per cent. of the aggregate, while the products of mines formed 53 per cent. of the total, or nearly six times as much. These are facts that we cannot get away from, and must show us that from a railway standpoint at least the mineral industry is of immense importance.

Now let us take an inventory of our mineral industry. Our total mineral production now amounts to 175 million dollars annually. In a list of our mineral resources you will find that there are very few of the important ones missing, and in some of those we have we lead the world. Let us consider a few special cases.

Our *coal* resources are among the greatest in the world.

Our *asbestos* deposits in the Eastern Townships of the Province of Quebec supply most of the asbestos of commerce.

The greatest *nickel* deposits in the world are located at Sudbury. Ontario has the largest body of high grade *talc* on the continent at Madoc; the largest body of high grade *feldspar* on the continent in the Richardson mine near Vercona; the greatest *mica* mine on the continent at Sydenham and the greatest *graphite* mine at Calabogie, and quite recently a *molybdenite* property has been discovered within 25 miles of Ottawa that bids fair to outstrip all rivals.

We also have one of the richest *silver* camps in the world at Cobalt, and the most promising of the younger *gold* camps on the continent at Porcupine.

Our smelters at Deloro and Thorold also produce more refined *cobalt* than all the other refineries in the world put together.

These are just a few of the lines on which we lead, but the remainder of our production is by no means insignificant. With such a magnificent heritage we should be very delinquent in our duty if we did not give the mineral industry the careful attention that it deserves.

In the past there has been too little co-operation between the miner and the manufacturer. We did not notice our lack of organization until the war broke out and then our deficiencies were made apparent. In March last, at the request of Sir George E. Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, a special committee of the Canadian Mining Institute was appointed to study conditions in respect of the mineral and metal industries of the Dominion with a view to determining:

- (1) To what extent Canada can supply the requirements of the Empire, and thus help to make it self-supporting and independent of outside sources for those supplies of materials essential to its needs both in times of peace and war;

- (2) To indicate the possibilities as regards the utilization of the natural resources of the Dominion to greater national advantage than heretofore in the up-building of home manufacturing industries.

In other words there is apparently sound reason to believe that we are now exporting a great quantity of raw material



which could be much more profitable, so far as the national interests are concerned, if made the basis of manufacturing industries at home; and also importing supplies, a considerable proportion of which we could quite readily and most advantageously produce ourselves. In some cases it will be necessary merely to indicate the opportunities that exist for the establishment of new industries to effect the desired end; but in other instances Government encouragement will be required.

How can the public help us in this work?

I appeal to you gentlemen of the Canadian Club as leaders of thought in this enlightened City of Montreal, to give this subject the intelligent consideration that it deserves. No one can plead that it does not concern him. Mining is one of our basic industries and it enters more or less into the lives of every one of us.

You do not need to be a stockholder in a mine to be financially interested in its development. Take, for instance, the little camp of Cobalt. Of course, a camp to be successful must make profits and Cobalt does that; and the result is the dividends that are paid. If you are a shareholder that is what you are most interested in. But let us look at Cobalt from another angle, that of a non-shareholder. It costs seven million dollars annually to run the Cobalt mines, and after careful enquiry I am convinced that most of the seven millions eventually finds its way down to Toronto and Montreal. If you are a merchant or a manufacturer in this city does not the matter of an extra few millions annually coming into the city interest you? and remember that Cobalt is only one of the number of flourishing mining camps up north. But perhaps you are not interested in monetary profit. Perhaps you are like one of our leading daily newspapers. A few weeks ago I went into this newspaper office and after holding out my money for ten minutes wanting to pay for a yearly subscription in advance, I had to come away with my money. A clerk did look up at me when I asked if they were too busy to take some money, but I got no other reply. Now, although I used to think that that paper had a strong political bias, I now consider it the most independent paper in Canada.

Speaking seriously, however, I ask you to familiarize

yourselves with the work of the mining industry and I am sure that you will find the study beneficial. It is doubtless lack of information that makes the public so often judge the mining industry from the losses made through gambling in mining stocks. When a man gambles in wheat and loses, he does not blame the agricultural industry. He usually keeps quiet about his losses, but privately he must confess to himself that his losses are due to his own ignorance or inability to properly size up the wheat situation. He should treat the mining industry in the same way. If a man is heard blaming the mining industry for his losses, he is simply proclaiming to the world that he is a gambler in mining stocks, and on enquiry it will usually be found that although he may be a shrewd, careful and successful business man in his own line, when it comes to mining he throws shrewdness and common sense to the winds and ignores usual business methods. Under the circumstances the dice are loaded against him and he has not an ordinary gambler's chance. If a man were offered a bargain in real estate he would not think of paying over his money before he has made a personal investigation of the property or had got an expert opinion on it, or both; yet, when buying a mining property, that same man so often puts up his hard-earned savings without anything more than a seller's report. If you wish to invest in the mining industry, and not simply to gamble in mining, use ordinary business principles and common sense, and I can assure you that I know of no other industry on earth that gives larger returns for the capital invested.

Forecasts of the future may be considered superfluous but I think that in this case they may help us in a campaign for better preparedness. Again let us turn to our Northland for inspiration. Anyone who looked over the unbroken forest of Northern Ontario a dozen years ago and predicted that this district would soon be producing twenty millions in gold and silver annually, paying dividends almost equal to those of all the chartered banks of Canada put together, would have been put down as a fantastic dreamer; but that is a fact to-day and the output is continually increasing. And yet only a small portion of the country has been prospected. Running north-east and north-west from Cobalt and extending to the



Arctic Ocean, taking in all Northern Quebec and Northern Ontario is the great Canadian Pre-Cambrian Shield, the basement formation of the continent. It contains thousands of square miles and offers to prospectors better chances of locating valuable mineral deposits than can be found in any other country in the world.

Turning from such a record and looking forward into the future it requires no very vivid imagination to see other Cobalts and other Porcupines converting the wilderness into thriving hives of industry.





(March 8th, 1917)

## THE WESTERN FARMERS' ORGANIZATION AND THEIR VIEW-POINT

---

By H. W. WOOD

---

**I** CAN assure you that I deem it a very great honor indeed to be invited to address this splendid audience of representative business men of Montreal. I did not come all the way down here to tell you any new thing, or to give you any oratorical display, but I came as a farmer of the West who has been a farmer all of his life. I came down here to discuss some of the problems that we are facing, the solution of which I think is absolutely vital to the very best interests of Canada; and I want to discuss them in an absolutely frank and fair manner.

Now in discussing the birth and growth of the Western Farmers' movement, I think it is well to go back and take a brief view of the past struggles of civilization. Going back to the primitive condition of man, we see one very notable thing, that his whole state was individualistic. As he began to make progress, he developed a system of competition, each individual man trying with all of his might to get what he could out of the products of the earth for his own benefit. As this developed and grew into a complex system of trade, the individualistic, competitive elements were intensified, until the old savage method began to prove its inadequacy and give way to a kind of co-operation. The people dealing with this complex system of commerce and trade found that individualistic efforts were inadequate, and they began to organize. The first stages of the development of organisation took the form of class co-operation. The great commercial classes began to organize themselves as co-operative bodies,

and as soon as that began, individualism began to give way. The classes that were the easiest to organize under a co-operative system were the first ones to do so; that is, the classes with the fewest number of people and the greatest amount of money. Now this organization has developed down through the classes. You all know the history of that development as well as I do; how, finally, it spread down to the basic class itself, which was the farming class. For forty years the farmers of the American continent have been trying to organize themselves on a co-operative basis, as a class, but for a long time their efforts were failures. Their numbers were greater than in any other, but their lives were isolated, they thought within themselves, they acted within themselves, and everything about their lives militated against their discarding the old savage individualism. But economic necessity, especially in Western Canada, during the last ten years made them more helpless under the system of individualism, perhaps than farmers in any other country ever were. They were forced to develop an organization, forced to bring their co-operative efforts together, for the purpose of protecting their own interests.

Now this development has been going on for about twelve years. It has been slow; it was never rapid at any time, but it has been gradually increasing and gradually rising to a higher plane. Each year larger conventions are held, and each year the convention shows a very marked degree of progress over the preceding one. I am speaking now especially of the Alberta Convention.

While individualism is giving way, competition is not; but these organized bodies are competing for commercial advantages with more effect than man was ever able to compete on an individualistic basis. Instead of competition giving way just as individualism is giving way, it is really intensifying. As we and all of the classes perfect our organizations and increase our efficiency in competing with each other, it will either grow more acute, more forced, and more effective, or else it will have to give way as individualism did, to a higher form of co-operation, which is the true co-operation, the co-operation on which civilization will have to be built. That is when class co-operates with class, all striving to serve



the wants of humanity by their united efforts, just as the members of the classes have tried to serve their own individual interests best by co-operating with the other members of their class.

Now, nature has certain fundamental laws. These laws are exemplified in all the functions of progress. These laws are bringing up, lifting up all the time from the lower to the higher. Under these laws vegetable life was developed; under these laws animal life was developed; under these laws social progress has been developed since the time of primitive man. Just as inevitably as these laws have prevailed in the development of life, so they prevail in the development of social life, beginning in the lowest form. These laws develop more rapidly than anywhere else, in response to the lowest sentiment in the human nature, and that is the sentiment of conflict. Man in his primitive state, rising up from the stage of animalism, used the very spirit of animalism; that was the spirit of conflict, of selfishness, of striving for supremacy. This developed in the military department of human progress more rapidly than anywhere else. Individualism gave way there centuries before it began to give way in the commercial world. The individual began to co-operate with his family, with the tribe, and finally they came together as a nation, organizing its strength on a military basis by the highest known method of organization, to co-operate with each other to exercise the full strength of that nation. For centuries the military unit has not been the man but the nation.

In the last few years more especially, that national organization for international conflict has been giving way to international co-operation; and that international co-operation for the purpose of conflict is to-day developed to the very last stage. We see the nations of the earth organized as nations, co-operating with each other and united in two great military camps, in the final strife to settle the problems of international relationships by the method of conflict. Now the question is, can it be done? When this war is over, what will have been proven to humanity? The problems will not be solved; but if we have proved to the satisfaction of all humanity that the great international problems cannot be

solved by conflict, if then we go about solving them some other way, the war will have made its tedious, tortuous, bloody progress, and its ultimate end will be constructive; it will have to give way to something higher. I believe that will be the result of this war, and that military individualism, which centuries ago merged itself into international military co-operation, is going to give way. In its stead there is going to be a great international co-operation, a great settling of the problems of international relationships by treaty, and not by conflict. Now if that is true, there is the first development from individualism up to a supreme method of co-operation; but we have not progressed so far in commercial lines yet. We are just now organizing as commercial classes. Individualism is just giving way to this class co-operation; but as I said, if we continue to cultivate the spirit of competition, the spirit of strife, that will only intensify the situation, and will not relieve the situation by any means. The problems of commerce will never be settled by classes co-operating for the principles and purposes of conflict. We have got to discover a higher co-operation; we have got to discover some way to settle our troubles by treaty and not by strife.

Now we are rapidly approaching conditions new from every standpoint, some of them brought about by the ending of this war. We are going to be put to the test in every way to maintain our national integrity and our national prosperity, and we are approaching that test with the commercial classes organizing more intensely than they have ever organized before. The time is past when any commercial interest will be able to deal with any other commercial interest only through the channel of the organization of that interest. We can no more deal with any class as individuals. A class on the basis of individualism is absolutely hopeless and helpless before the organized classes. We realized that as farmers; we realize it more and more all the time. With all of the difficulty that there has been to organize this class, and with all the imperfections of its present organization, we are now an organized class. There is no reason to believe that our organization will not go on and develop and get stronger and stronger, so that we shall have to be dealt with as a class; and we are the last class to organize. All of these organizations are more



or less imperfect, but all the classes that are interested in the commercial affairs of this country are now organized and will have to deal with each other as organized bodies. How are we going about it? There are differences, more especially between the farmers and the other people. I stand before you to-day as a representative of the farmers' interests. The vital thing that affects every man in these times more closely than anything else is his buying and selling. Just as they are affected his own prosperity is affected; the welfare of his family is affected; everything he holds dear in life is affected. If every man in this room will analyze his buying and selling interest, and then analyze the buying and selling interest of the farmer, you will see that in nearly every case where you buy we sell, and where we sell you buy. There seems to be an absolute conflict all along the line. Certain things are unsatisfactory to us. I do not believe they are satisfactory to you. Certain readjustments have got to be made. These problems of commercial class co-operation have got to be solved.

You have to deal with them. We have to deal with them. How are we going about it? Are we going to rally all of our force that we possess, and then align ourselves in two or more groups and fight to a finish for commercial supremacy, exhausting the resources of this nation, without solving a single problem? Is that the way we are going to bring this great crisis to an end. For it is a crisis. There is not a man who can escape it. We have all got to deal with it, and while there seems to be an irreconcilable conflict between the buyers on one side and the sellers on the other side, there is a right way to settle every one of these problems, and there is not a man that seems to know just what that right way is. The thing we have to do is to find that right way and approach the question in a spirit of co-operation, a spirit of unselfishness, which is the spirit of civilization, and thus we can by our united efforts find this right way. We cannot find it any other way. We cannot discover it by conflict. Just as the armies marching against each other to-day cannot discover the higher way of settling international problems, by conflict, we cannot discover the higher way of settling our commercial problems. We are here as a

nation, a young nation. The resources of the nation have not been exhausted. We probably have as many resources as any other nation in the world at the present time. We have a foundation on which we can build an infinitely higher civilization than the world has ever seen. How are we going about building it? I spoke to the Canadian Club down at Winnipeg and I held up this picture to them. Canada is one great family of people. In the midst is a great family altar erected to peace and love. Are we going to meet as a family of children around that great family altar? are we going to try to solve these problems by the law of love and the law of peace and the law of justice? or are we going to divide ourselves up into military commercial factions and undertake to settle these by strife? It cannot be done. We have got to settle these problems like men, and like men inspired not by the old animalism of past ages, but by the unselfish spirit that is coming to us in the future. The spirit of co-operation is absolutely the spirit of unselfishness, and the spirit of competition is absolutely the spirit of selfishness, of conflict, of unrest. The spirit of co-operation is the spirit of peace, the spirit of harmony. Are we going to approach these great problems under this old spirit of selfishness and conflict, or are we going to approach them under the spirit of unselfishness and harmony?

I did not undertake to bring you any details as to how these things can be worked out. It is an undiscovered science of civilization. I do not know that science, or the working out of its details; but I do know that the first step in approaching this proposition is to get the right spirit. I believe that the large majority of the men in this house in their hearts want these problems solved by the law of right. I do not believe they want wrong, and I believe that one of the most splendid developments in our farmers' organizations in the last two years is the spirit of tolerance and desire to do right. The majority of the people in Canada want to do what is right; they want to solve these problems by the laws of right. We do not know how to do it; and we shall never learn how to do it by proceeding along the lines of individualism. We have got to get together; we have got to mobilize the forces that are being guided by the spirit of right, and bring their strength to bear till the spirit of right is supreme over the efforts and



affairs of this nation. We can make this nation in twenty-five years, or let us say in fifty years, the best place that has ever been made for men to live in. Or we can make it a place of conflict, of dissatisfaction and a place of strife. It is up to us; and the men in this house to-day can have a wonderful influence one way or the other. The question is, is every man going to do his best to act with his fellowmen in bringing these things to the right solution, or is he just simply going to drift along in the easy channel, as we have always drifted along, and let things take their natural course?

There is another family with just two children, and they are the East and the West. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Are we as a nation going to be a house divided against itself? We need the co-operation of Eastern Canada in our efforts, in our upward struggle. You need the co-operation of Western Canada to raise the civilization of this country to the highest ideals. Are we going to listen to the voice of strife, to the voice of animalism, to the voice of greed and selfishness, and align ourselves against each other, and spend our efforts in conflict? There is in Alberta I believe more of the spirit of co-operation between the interests represented by you men here and the interests represented by me as a Western farmer, than there is in any other province in this great Dominion. The message I bring to you is that we want the fair spirit of Alberta, the spirit she is developing, the spirit of co-operation with all classes, with all interests, with all sections of this great Dominion, with all races and with every element that goes to build up a great civilization, we want that spirit duplicated here. We want you to co-operate with us, to consult with us, to instruct us, to lend your strength to our strength; then all of us, struggling together, will raise the civilization of this country to a higher level than the civilization of any other country in the world.





(March 12th, 1917)

## SYRIA AND ARABIA AS FACTORS IN THE SCHEMES OF GERMANY

---

By the REV. CANON S. GOULD, M.D.

---

WHEN the war began, it is said that an Irish Regiment was being marched down the streets of Dublin to be embarked for the front, and when they came to the gates of the dock they found all the women of the regiment there to say good-bye. One Biddy pounced upon her Pat and pulled him out of the line over to the curb to say good-bye. The Major being shocked at this breach of discipline rushed up to draw Pat into line again, but Biddy said to him: "Run on, young man, run on," and then turning to her husband she said: "And sure, Pat, and I do not care who knows it. If you only beats the Germans the way you beats me you will come back a general." Now Biddy did three things which I think it is well for us all to do; she remembered the past, she took a just estimate of the present, and she looked with an optimistic eye into the future. I have not any doubt that we all remember the past, and this assists in obtaining a just estimate of the present, and if after my visit to you it is possible for you to look with a more optimistic eye into the future, my visit to you will not have been in vain to-day.

We have been living in a period of the domination of a little word, the word "pan." Pan-Teutonic, pan-Slavonic, pan-British if you will. I desire to draw your attention to-day, very briefly, to two pan-movements which are possibly not as well known in their bearings upon the crisis and the issue of the struggle as they might and should be. The first is the pan-Turanian movement, or the pan-Turkish movement, which accounts for the measure of initial success which fol-

lowed upon the German aims in the nearer East at the beginning of the struggle. The second is the pan-Arabian movement. One might describe it as the Young Arabian movement, which is the seed of failure in the schemes of Germany as they applied to the nearer East, and will be one of the factors which will decide the issues in the nearer East on the side of the Allied Powers and against the schemes of Germany and her friends.

First, then, there is the pan-Turanian movement. We must start our review from the modern standpoint, from the time of the visit of the German Emperor to the nearer East in 1898. He initiated in the nearer East at that time the pan-Turkish movement. He was in close alliance with the pan-Turkish movement, the results of which we are witnessing at the present time; but the roots of that movement lie far back in the pages of history. In the fifth century the first Slavonic horde poured down across the Danube into the Balkan States, and the descendants of these people are to be found in Serbia, Dalmatia, and the non-Teutonic parts of Hungary. In the next century a second lot came, following the same course. Their descendants we know as the Bulgarians. We think of them in history as a Slavonic people in close alliance with the great Slav nation of Europe; but originally they were not Slavs but Turanians, closely allied to the modern Turk. They entered the Balkan States and took possession and, just as the Normans after the Conquest of England, became assimilated with the people into whose midst they forced themselves.

I now mention one other point in history. At the time of the Russian-Turkish war of 1877, when the Russian armies were at the gates of Constantinople, we know that the European powers intervened, with the consequence that the Treaty of Berlin was made. In the year 1877 General Skobelev, that hero of the Russian-Turkish war, addressed a meeting of Serbians in the city of Paris, and this is what he said: "As to the Berlin Treaty, we are the victims of a foreign interloper. It is the German. Never forget that. Our enemy is the German. The battle between the Slav and the German is inevitable. It will be long, bloody and terrible, but the Slav will triumph."



Five years later, Prince Korsakoff, speaking in the city of Tiflis, said: "If we want Constantinople we shall not take the Danubian route, but shall march through Asia Minor."

Then came the so-called bloodless revolution in Turkey and never was an agitation more miscalled than to call this one bloodless. It was certainly not a revolution and it was not bloodless. Rivers of blood flowed in connection with it. It was not a revolution in the true sense for this reason, that while professing to overthrow an old despot and an old set of ideas and principles, it succeeded in doing only the former, in dethroning the man of blood; and then it adopted all the worst of Abdul Hamid's regime, and brought ruin on the fair prospect of progress and regeneration in Turkey. What was the fatal element in that situation? The predominance of the pan-Turanian, the pan-Turkish movement. The watchwords of the revolution of the Young Turkish party were: "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality." These watchwords sounded throughout the great cities of the Turkish Empire, and then how soon the sound was broken. Liberty, Equality and Fraternity went down before another ideal. The pan-Turkish movement, which meant that every non-Turkish element in the Empire, every race, cult or religion was to be Turkeyfied. And there you have again the seed of the present situation. When Turkey entered the war, the leaders of the Young Turkish party pointed out that the Armenians on their mountains in Asia Minor came in between certain sections of the Turkish race, that if they were moved then it would be possible to link up these various sections of the Turks with the Bulgars, originally of their own stock in race and language, and these again with all the allies of the pan-Turkish movement. This was the basis of the scheme which found expression in the term, Berlin to Bagdad; the economic unit, self-sufficing, self-sustaining, organised under the rules of the Teutonic military system. One great self-contained unit, military and economic, that was the dream of Germany in the nearer East, and that dream was based upon the first of the two movements I have mentioned, the pan-Turanian movement. We know what the results were, that thousands of Armenians, under every form of blood and horror, have been wiped off the stage. Not only that but the movement spread to every other section,

non-Turkish, non-Mohammedan, of that part of the Turkish Empire, so that a very moderate estimate of the numbers of men, women and children who have died of starvation within the cordon of the Turkish troops on the mountains of Lebanon, is 60,000; probably the figure is to-day nearer 100,000.

Now we pass to the other movement, the pan-Arabian, or the Young Arab movement. This was the seed of weakness in the German plan. When Turkey entered the war, the German Chancellor, speaking in Berlin, made a series of prophecies as to what would happen to the British Empire with regard to India and the other dominions, and then he uttered this remarkable phrase in relation to the entrance of Turkey into the war. He said: "At last we have found the weak place in our enemy's armor."

What were the grounds for his predictions and assertions? First of all the entrance of Turkey into the war was followed by the proclamation of the Sultan of Turkey of a Jihad or a Holy War against Britain and her Allies, which put a solemn religious obligation on every orthodox Mohammedan. Of the 235 millions of Mohammedans in the world 180 millions are British subjects. Do we realize that at this very moment for every man, woman and child in this Dominion of Canada there is a man, woman or child of Mohammedan faith, ten times over, in the British Empire? But there was an element that the German character failed to take account of.

The roots of the young Arab party, as expressive of the pan-Arabian movement, commenced far back in the pages of history also. The entry of Turkey into the Mohammedan world introduced an alien strain into an otherwise clear stream, in blood, in language, in ideals. But the power of the sword, as in other spheres, so in the religious, is mighty. For centuries there has been trouble, more or less, and then there came into existence the pan-Arabian or Young Arab movement against the religious claims of Turkey, and consequently, since in Mohammedanism you cannot separate the sphere of the religious from the political and social, against the domination of the Turk in both these directions also. But there was one other factor of still greater moment than even this racial division between the different parts of the Turkish Empire itself, and that was the place of the British, not only geograph-



ically in the Mohammedan world but in the affections of the people. That grand saying that British equity and justice have made those of the alien tongue as one with herself, is true pre-eminently of the Arab. Take the British work in Egypt. I have heard the story of British influence in Egypt repeated from the mouth of an Arab of the desert, from that of a military officer of the Egyptian Army, the dweller in the city and the country. When those great men of the British race went into Egypt it was a by-word among all the countries of the East. They unblocked the arteries of its commerce, struck the shackles of dependence from the wrists of the people, and transformed Egypt into a country that was the envy of all the countries of the nearer East. Their young men dreamed dreams. Their old men saw visions. If haply it might come to pass that under British authority like things might be brought about in the neighboring countries under the rule of the Turk! But back of Egypt there was British rule and the British record in Arabia.

If you look at it you find that Arabia is almost an island; and on this great island the Arab has dwelt from time immemorial. He has come into contact with the Turk, and with the British as represented through British government in India, with what result I will now tell you as briefly as possible. The British surveyed the 4,000 miles of Arabian coast, planted all the lighthouses that exist along the Arabian coast, Britain linked up Aden and Bushire on the Persian Gulf with submarine telegraph, sent her naval power into all those waters and along with the white ensign came the red. Britain in 1852 made, with all the Arabian chiefs of the desert along the coast from Aden around into the Persian Gulf, treaties of perpetual friendship. All the chiefs have been members of that league ever since. Britain guarded their coast, Britain has maintained peace among the tribes, Britain has guaranteed at least a certain measure of personal liberty and of equity as between man and man. I have come in contact with the Arab of the desert, the man of influence, uncorrupted if you will by any contact with Europe; he is a man of a good many capacities and some rather marked failings. Among his capacities or his failings, as you may view it, is this one. He is the most innocent, the most persistent, the most engaging,

the most plausible, the most scientific liar on the face of the globe; but when the Arab of the desert desires to impress upon the other fellow with whom he has a small dispute that he is at length endeavoring to get his feet planted on a little island of truth in an ocean of lies, what does he say? "By the word of the British what I say is true." Is that not the most magnificent tribute to Britain and to British equity and justice that you can meet with on the face of the globe? How do these fellows come to feel this way? Through his first contact with British officials in India, the Arab knew when the Britisher, no matter what his personal failings might be, spoke in the name of his Government, though the earth rocked and the heavens fell, the British word would stand. It passed first into a family saying, then into a current saying among the tribes, until it finally took the form of an oath, and that was the supreme factor that the German mind failed to take account of when the German minister made his confident statement: "At last we have found the weak place in our enemy's armor." That was the main reason also why, when that brave but unfortunate little expedition commanded by the heroic Townshend failed, and by the force of strategy was compelled to surrender, the expectations of Britain's enemies did not follow the event. The Arabians as a whole remained at least in passive allegiance to the British power.

Do not think of Arabia as an ocean of sand under a burning sun. It is nothing of the kind. There are large desert areas, but the central parts of Arabia are magnificent tablelands known as the Nejd, which is the home of the Arab chief, the home of the fast driving camel, and of the ruling families. Not even in Switzerland do you see more splendid mountain ranges than can be seen in Arabia. Almost every fruit that you can find will grow there to perfection. The Arabian poet of old spoke of it as a country where the women never grew old, where a man could wear the same garment year in and year out despite the season; and in reality it is a paradise upon earth. Britain did not form any alliance with the Arabs; and yet, although unformed, there is a lasting alliance upon those principles which are intangible to the German at least, and yet because of their very intangibility are powerful in the extreme. Those were the principles which explain the



present position in Arabia, which hold the Arab, who is a most difficult man to hold. The one thing that appeals to the Arab is military prowess. One thing he cannot understand is defeat; and let us remember this, that from the pillars of Hercules in the West, all through the camps of North Africa, the camps of the Sahara, crossing through Egypt and into Arabia, and right to the borders of Bagdad, it is the story of British truth and honor which has been repeated all along the line—her iron power of the seas, the story of how, when Germany said so haughtily to Belgium: "Let me go through you" (as the African boy put it) and Belgium responded: "I am a nation, not a road," how after that, counting no cost, measuring no possibilities of any other successive event, Britain showered the boundless wealth of the Empire into the cause. She poured, when she had been given time for the necessary training, the flower of her manhood into the same cause, and the beauty of her womanhood into it too, for we can never forget what the women have done. These stories have been repeated from tent fire to tent fire. They will be handed down to their children's children, and they will found even more firmly and deeply in the Arab character the conception of honor, of the importance of the plighted word, as they have seen it exemplified in this colossal struggle in the Empire of which it is our good fortune to form a part. The Arabs of Arabia and their fellow tribes will rest in security in the days to come, will enjoy the emancipation of thought and conduct and action which comes from a place of security under the shadow of the flag of the triple cross.

That, gentlemen, very briefly, is my story of the schemes of Germany in relation to the nearer East, and I think I may say that if you will follow up the line of thought presented you will find some illuminating pieces of knowledge which will throw an abundance of light not only upon what has happened, what is happening to-day, but what will come to pass in the not distant future in the nearer East.





(March 19th, 1917)

## SERBIA IN THE WAR AND AFTER

---

By Dr. SVAGOR GRGICH

---

I FEEL it my profound duty to express my deep gratitude to the Canadian people for the great assistance and sympathy they have shown for the tragedy that has overtaken the Serbian people. Canada was very well known to me before I came here. If we look in the books of the Serbian Relief in London we find that the lists of Canadian relief are on the first page. To us Serbians it is a perpetual marvel that you Canadians, so far away from Serbia, have shown such an interest in our cause. It was hard to believe that not only Canada but the whole British Empire should show such a very deep and sympathetic interest in the tragedy of my country. Of course we knew you had large purses, but we found you had more than that, large hearts. Therefore, in the name of myself and my people—the 99 per cent. of the people of Serbia who are suffering—I tender you my most profound thanks.

What represents Serbia to-day? What is her economic and political position? I think I should not answer that, because the picture is too dark. She is to-day the charred walls of a once wealthy and happy home—but a ruined home which we are confident will be rebuilt by our own energy and the help of our friends, after this war is over. Therefore, I wish to speak to you to-day of the economic position of Serbia before the war, and the position we expect after the war.

We have two distinct parts of Serbia, the liberated part with Montenegro, and the districts which are ruled by Austria-Hungary, with Bosnia-Herzegovina. The people of those districts are all people of the same race and traditions and

aspirations as the people of Serbia and Montenegro. We are still carrying on a war for the freedom and liberation of our people, 8,000,000 of whom have been under the rule of Austria-Hungary.

In trying to understand the conditions of to-day we must refer to our history. Our history is very interesting. It has been a great struggle for an ideal—freedom. We have had to battle against two powerful forces. From the fourteenth to the nineteenth century we had to fight against the Turks, and from the nineteenth century up to to-day we have had to struggle against the much more powerful forces of Austria-Hungary and Germany. All our energies have had to be applied in the great struggle for our defence.

What is the reason of that long struggle? Serbia and the Serbian countries occupy a very important position from a geographical and strategical point of view. The reason of our tragedy of to-day and our long past struggles is the importance of the position we hold. We were always in the way of some country's ambitions. Serbia is like a bridge between the west and the east. But it ought to be and always wished to be a bridge for Great Britain, and never for Germany or Austria-Hungary. Serbia has tried to serve as a barrier against the pernicious German penetration eastward, and Serbia's fight was for the defence of every power having interests in the east. Is there any great power in the world to-day with greater interests in the east than Great Britain? Is it not the fact that Serbia, according to her power, was really defending British interests in the east against Teutonic aggression? That means that the wall against German penetration eastward must be made as strong as possible. The Serbian line alone is not strong enough to oppose such powerful forces. That is why we expect the co-operation of the British people to help us to block the pernicious aggression of the Germans after this war is ended.

How is it possible that such conditions, so harmful for British interests in the east were produced? It is not for me to criticize the past course of the great powers, but I think it is the duty of public men to-day to point out the facts. We now know that the conflagration of to-day is the logical result of the mistakes made at the Congress of Berlin in 1878.



At that congress German policies changed from continental to colonial. The strong man of the congress was Bismarck; and because she was in the way of the great German scheme of direct connection between Hamburg, Berlin and Bagdad, Serbia was the first victim. Part of our territory was occupied by Austria-Hungary.

It was not realized at the congress that there were two routes for German aggression, one by sea and the other by land. The Germans were wise enough to realize that for a century at least they would not be able to overcome the British navy, but they were prepared to occupy the land route to the east. Serbia meant to them what Suez and Gibraltar mean to the British. But while the latter were protected by the powerful British fleet, Serbia was only protected by its own people.

It is not possible to talk of the Balkan States and the problems of yesterday, to-day and to-morrow without speaking of the Congress of Berlin. But we are confident the mistakes made then will never be repeated by Great Britain or her Allies. One result of those mistakes was that the Balkan States were divided into political and economic spheres. It really seemed as though the Balkans might have belonged to the Congo or some very distant place, instead of occupying the most critical place in Europe. We Serbians were forced to accept political and commercial co-operation with Austria-Hungary, and our struggle since that time has been to emancipate ourselves from the commercial rule thus imposed upon us. More than 85 per cent. of our imports and exports in Serbia have been with Germany and Austria-Hungary, while only about 8 per cent. or 9 per cent. has been with Great Britain. The ratio with Germany and Austria-Hungary has been steadily increasing and our trade with Great Britain decreasing. Our outlet to the sea was taken away, and we were compelled to join with Germany and Austria-Hungary.

What do we expect after this war? In the first place we expect the full liberation of the Serbian people. We believe very strongly in the sincerity of the Allies, and, of course, in the sincerity of Great Britain. We believe that the principle Great Britain is so strongly fighting for—the principle of the

right of the smaller nationalities to existence and liberty—will prevail after this war.

After the war the first thing for Serbia will be to come into close economic co-operation with Great Britain, and, may I say, with Canada, as well as the rest of the British Empire. We have after this war to solve a tremendous economic problem. According to official estimates the losses in the liberated part of Serbia are over a billion dollars, and the reconstruction work will be very great, while we shall have to import everything needed for the rebuilding of our country. We shall have direct communication then, as our sea coast will be restored. That will give us an ocean connection with Canada which we have not had hitherto, so that we shall be able to get supplies of foodstuffs and manufactured goods from this country. We shall have great need for agricultural implements also. Probably in the first year we shall need these goods to the value of \$25,000,000. In addition to this we shall have to rebuild 1,500 miles of railway, a work in which this great railway building country of Canada can greatly aid. Another problem is the building of a mercantile fleet, which will be a new problem for us, since our sea coast has been taken away from us.

Our country is a very wealthy one naturally, and what we need more than anything else is Canadian money for the development of our natural resources. We have great mineral resources. For instance we have a copper mine, amongst others. The shares were originally worth £20 apiece, but after a few years' work they went up to £300 a share, and there are many other very rich mines and mineral properties only awaiting capital and energy to make them of great value.

You will find in Serbia unlimited sympathy for Great Britain and British principles, and that sympathy is not confined to the common people, but you will find it amongst the most representative people and in the Government. May we hope, gentlemen, that you will understand our position after this war? We do hope for your sympathy and support, as from a free people who can understand the struggles of a people who want to be free.



(March 26, 1917)

## THE PRESENT SITUATION IN TURKEY AND THE BALKANS AS RELATED TO THIS CONTINENT

---

By JAMES L. BARTON, D.D.

---

I HAVE lived in Turkey for some time, and at the present time I have numerous correspondents in the Turkish Empire, twenty-six in the Balkans, and eleven in Russia; so that I have come into touch with things that are somewhat behind the scenes. I have a way of getting letters out from Turkey that are not censored; but that is another story. A great many of our educators and missionaries have been sent out of Turkey. At one time twenty-five or thirty of them were expelled from Turkey and they were kept on the border two or three weeks, in the hope that they would forget anything they knew about the situation at that time. Of course they were first searched and every scrap of paper taken from them. Nevertheless a great many of these people remembered a great many things, and I have had hours with them.

The Balkan situation is one that goes back to the dawn of history. Wars have always centered round the Balkans. They have been not only racial, but religious wars, and they are therefore the more difficult to understand. In the Balkans there are at least seven conflicting elements, partly religious and partly racial—the Roumanians, the Serbs, the Bulgarians, the Albanians, the Greeks, the Turks and the Jews—seven elements, none of which mixed successfully on any occasion or under any condition. Therefore it was a great surprise to everybody, after the declaration of Constitutional Government in 1908 on the part of Turkey, to find that the Balkans

suddenly formed the Greek-Bulgarian-Serbian alliance. There was nothing in the world that would have tempted them to do such a thing except their common hatred of the Turk. The first Balkan war ended with the triumph of the three allies. Then Serbia and Greece fell out with Bulgaria. The reason is clear. The three allies had agreed to a division of the Balkans after they had driven the Turk out, and in that division Albania was to go to Serbia and Greece. Serbia was to have an outlet on the Adriatic and Greece was to have the southern part of Albania. When the war was finished then Greece and Serbia demanded a new division, because in the meantime a Conference in London had decided that Albania should be left as a separate and independent country. That took away a large part of what Serbia and Greece were to have had, and they called upon Bulgaria for a new division of territory, but the Bulgarians refused. They said that the division as formerly agreed upon gave Bulgaria only what rightly belonged to her—territories in which their people lived, and they could not give them up. Then the second Balkan war took place; Bulgaria was defeated, a large part of what was formerly Bulgaria became Serbia. This increased Serbia's resources in men and wealth. There were great possibilities in Serbia, and that led to suspicion on the part of Austria and proved the beginning of the present great European war.

I have learned, from my close relations with some of the forces working in that part of the world, that the Bulgarians are not wholly satisfied with the present situation. The Emperor of Germany went over to Nish soon after the allies landed in Salonica, and endeavored to secure the co-operation of the Bulgars in making an attack on the allies; and we know from Bulgarian officials that the King told the Kaiser that the Bulgars had achieved all they had set out to achieve by entering into the combination. Germany had taken and given to Bulgaria all of the old Bulgaria, which she was really fighting for, and she would not fight for any larger territory. That brings us to the question why Bulgaria sided with Germany and not with the allies. The allies early announced, soon after the war became general, that they would not stop short of the restoration to Serbia of every foot of territory that she possessed at the outbreak of the war. See what that meant



to Bulgaria. Serbia at the outbreak of the war held much territory that Bulgaria regarded as hers by right, because it was occupied by Bulgarians. She wanted her territory back, and if the allies had promised her that, I have no doubt that she would have gone upon the other side.

I was told by a high official in Bulgaria, within the last three months, that Bulgaria's natural ally is Great Britain and not Germany; that it is abnormal for her to be allied with the Teuton and to be fighting against Russia to whom she owed so much of her progress. She formed this unnatural alliance with the Central Powers in order that she might be assured of the restoration of territory she regarded as hers by right. I have inside information from people who have recently come from Bulgaria, who are thoroughly familiar with the situation and officials (a large number of whom have been educated by the American colleges there) that they hate the Germans with a perfect hatred. They feel that there is no reason in the world why they should be allied with Germany, and they have a growing regard for Great Britain and a deep-seated regard for the United States. That means a lot to us now. I have been wondering in the last six weeks where Bulgaria would go in case war with Germany were declared by the United States, and where Turkey would turn in that case. They are both now largely under the absolute control of German officials. You will find in the city of Sofia more German than Bulgarian officials; and in Constantinople the German and Austrian official is everywhere present, and the Turkish official is out of sight. The two capitals are held almost wholly by the Germans, and not by the Turks and Bulgars themselves.

The question with us is whether the German power in Bulgaria and Constantinople will be sufficient to swing the Turkish Government with Germany in case the United States goes to war with Germany; and the feeling is that they will both remain neutral. I had word the other day from one of the high Bulgarian officials in this country who said that he saw no reason why the Bulgarians should break with the United States in case of war with Germany. Since Ambassador Bernstorff took his sudden leave from the United States, the Turkish officials throughout the Empire have shown

themselves unusually friendly to the Americans who are in that country. They have gone out of their way to be courteous. One of the best tokens of this feeling was supplied recently. The Syrian and American Relief Committee had a food ship loaded with supplies with instructions to land at Beirut. Permission had been obtained from France to take that ship through the blockade and land the supplies. The Ambassador from Constantinople went out and boarded the ship—he is there to do the diplomatic part of the work. They landed at Alexandria in Egypt with a cargo slightly injured. It had to be dried, and then word came that they could not land in Beirut but that they could land in Joppa. Ten days after that, Bernstorff had received his passport, and immediately the official in charge in Turkey wired our ambassador that the ship might be landed in Beirut, and he hoped we would send another shipload. They did everything to facilitate the distribution of this food to the suffering refugees, and permission was also given to take away any Americans who wished to leave. This showed that this one official at least was not swayed at all by the possibility of America getting into hostile relations; but quite the reverse, that he was inclined to be more friendly than he had been before. America has large properties in Turkey in the way of colleges and institutions, amounting to eight or ten millions of dollars. Some of them are seventy-five or a hundred years old, and if Turkey declared war on the United States this property would of course immediately be taken.

There is just a little incident I might relate here that may amuse you. When the war broke out and Turkey became an enemy of Great Britain, our Mission Board had thirty-six Canadian missionaries in the Turkish Empire. We had as our Ambassador at Constantinople Henry Morgenthau. The question at once was raised as to what the status of these Canadian missionaries would be, and he told me how he dealt with the Turkish government. He went to the Turkish officials and said: "Now look here, you are at war with Great Britain. We have thirty-six American missionaries who are Canadians, therefore they are remotely citizens of Great Britain. What I want you to do is to recognize that these thirty-six Canadians are Americans, and treat them



just the same as you do our American subjects; because only a short time will elapse before the United States will take possession of Canada and the whole of the North American continent, so if you recognize these missionaries as American subjects you are only anticipating a little." The Turkish officials were impressed and acceded to the request, so the missionaries are there to-day at their posts, most of them. Any-way they have not been expelled to any greater extent than have the American subjects. Some of these Canadian missionaries are in high standing and favor with the local Turkish officials. Dr. McLachlan, who is at the head of a great American College there, wrote me not a great while ago that the local head of the civil government had been to see him and had spent a great part of the afternoon in his house, and then a military official had come along and they had talked about everything under the sun. They went over to the College Chapel and Dr. McLachlan's daughter gave a recital on the organ, and they had one of the finest times.

Of course there is the Turkish side to this war question. I wonder if you know that a year ago last October, only two or three weeks after Turkey entered the war, but just before the call by Turkey for a Holy War against all Christians, there appeared in the papers of Constantinople a statement, that when the Kaiser visited Constantinople in 1897 and 1898 and went from there down to Jeddah, he became a Mohammedan; that after a pilgrimage from Jeddah down to Mecca, he returned to Berlin and propagated Mohammedanism in Germany and Austria, and in the summer of 1914 all of Germany and Austria had become Mohammedan. The conscience of the Kaiser had become tender on the subject, and he felt that he must set out and declare his faith before the world, so he published in the summer of 1914 the statement that Germany and Austria had become Mohammedan, that the three Christian nations of Europe were upon his back and that of the Emperor of Austria because of this change of faith. Therefore this was a war of the Christian against the Mohammedan, a Holy War—Christians attempting to crush Mohammedanism out of Europe. This was proved by every happening—when churches were destroyed by German troops in Belgium and Flanders, when cathedrals were gutted, this

was taken as absolute evidence of the change of faith; because of course if the German soldiers had been Christians they would never have destroyed churches and cathedrals. To-day in Turkey, or at least six months ago, throughout most of Turkey prayers were offered for Hadji Wilhelm. But that spirit is passing away in Turkey. The Turks are beginning to realize and they are saying it over and over again, officials both military and civil, that Turkey had no right to form an alliance with any of the European nations in this war. They went into the war with no possibility of gaining anything. If the Central Powers win everything they set out to win and become absolutely victorious, Turkey will be no better off than before, whereas if they lose Turkey stands to lose everything that she ever possessed. They are thinking about these things. There are many people that believe that if three men who are at the center of the Turkish Government had not been there, Turkey would not have gone into the war. These three men hold Turkey to-day in the hollow of their hands.

When Turkey went into the war, the Allies, England, France and Russia, sent a note to our Ambassador Morgenthau to demand of the Minister of the Interior that no atrocities should be committed on the Armenians, and to say that the Chief of Police would be held responsible. That was not the right kind of a note to send. The next morning twenty-one Armenians were hanging on tripods in the streets of Constantinople, as a defiance hurled back. Morgenthau went again and saw the Chief of Police. He was a wonderful Ambassador, Morgenthau; he had a genius for getting hold of men. He went to him and said: "Do you know what the Allies will do when they get Constantinople? The first thing they will do is to hang you up by the neck." The Chief of Police said: "How many times will they do it?" Morgenthau said he supposed only once. The Chief of Police then said that he was perfectly willing to be hung once, but, he added: "I am going to have my fling now, and I don't care what takes place in the future." That is the condition in Turkey to-day. If that combination of power represented by the three men I have mentioned should once be broken there would be no difficulty at all so far as Turkey herself is concerned, to make



an immediate and separate peace, if she had the power to do it. It would mean bloodshed in Constantinople, because the Government is in the hands of German officials and troops. The Germans started to send the Turkish troops out to the Caucasus, and they brought in Germans to replace them, but Turkey resisted this. However, the German troops really hold Constantinople.

The thing that would lead Turkey to make a separate peace more than anything else would be the fall of Bagdad. There is no stroke of the Allies that means so much for the breaking up of the combination as the capture of Bagdad the other day and the moving of the British troops toward the north and the west. Bagdad is a great and sacred city to the Turk and the Mohammedan. They have lost Mecca and Medina to the Arabs. Bagdad has fallen and the Turks never dreamed that it could fall. It was the city of the Caliphs of Mohammedanism for five hundred years. The great leaders they have revered and loved are buried there. Now Bagdad has fallen. Cairo is not under Turkish control any more; Bagdad is not, Medina and Mecca are not, Constantinople is still in doubt. These facts are driving the Turks to think that the Mohammedan Empire is breaking up, and if they wish to retain any fragments for future years they must make peace. That represents the sentiment of the majority of the people in Turkey to-day, and I shall not be surprised if we see that sentiment crystallize into action. The great question is, what will be done with the Turkish Empire after this war? Lord Bryce is one of my correspondents and he wrote me: "I should not be at all surprised if we should finally leave the Turk with a small country around Konieh, where the royal family could go, which would be a kind of denatured Turkey." Here it would be possible for the Turkish nation to endure without doing any harm to the rest of the world. The proposition was made to the United States within the last six months to annex Constantinople, the Dardanelles, and whatever remains of Turkey after the war, as American territory. That proposition came unofficially, but it came from official circles, and I had the inside of that whole question. This occurred at the time of our Presidential election, and I told the party bringing the proposition that neither one of

the candidates would dare to make such a proposition from their platform. Why we have been trying for years to let go of the Philippines. This was a serious proposition made to the Secretary of State. The man who brought it over went back rather disgruntled. The argument was that the United States would in this way do more for the peace of the future than in anything else it could possibly do. Russia, England and Italy would welcome the proposition, and if Germany found that she could not get it for herself, she would rather have the United States take it than anybody else; it was thought that it could be passed to the United States with the absolute consent of the Entente. We are not after it, however; but there is this to be hoped, that it may be an international State, with an open path for Russia to come through to the Mediterranean—free sea for everybody. This I think would probably be in the interests of the peace of Europe, and the United States would be perfectly willing to have its representative there and take its share in the control of that territory. I would rather see it held by the combined powers of the world and controlled by the combined powers of the world than by any single nation.



(April 2, 1917)

## UNITED STATES AND ITS RELATION- SHIP TO THE WAR

---

By GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

---

**I**T is a real privilege to come before an assembly of this kind, so representative a gathering of the citizens of our neighboring Republic, I am inclined to say. You and we believe in representative Government, and that is the essential thing.

I am here to give you a word of greeting from the great majority, much more than a majority, of the citizens of the United States, who have been from the outset supporters of the cause for which Great Britain and Great Britain's Allies are fighting, and I may have some feeling of personal gratification that the American Rights' League is a representative of that group. The League was organized nearly two years ago, at the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which was a good pretext for the organizing of a patriotic association, with the avowed purpose of arousing public feeling throughout the country for the protection of American lives, the maintenance of American rights, and the fulfilment of American obligations. We have held from the outset that the obligation, the essential obligation that rested upon the United States was to recognize that Great Britain and Great Britain's Allies were fighting not only for their own existence, for the fulfilment of their own obligations, for the principle of civilization, but that they were fighting our fight, they were fighting for all the interests and all the ideals that the Republic has maintained from the time of its first formation. To put it in a more selfish and narrow way, Great Britain and Great Britain's Allies were fighting for the defence of the United States. It was a

question of getting that understood throughout our country. You gentlemen live in a Dominion which while not in land is at least in population fairly compact. You have your two elements, but they are within reach; you know them and you know what the influences are, you know what they are likely to think and what they are likely to do. But unless you are very familiar with the United States, you can hardly realize the various group of communities with which we have to deal. Until the issue has been presented, and thoroughly talked out, until national action is required, we do not know what our forty-eight communities are going to think about it or going to do about it. We did not know at the time of the Civil War what proportion of the population of the Northern States, the twenty millions against the fourteen millions, could be counted upon to carry on the fight to save the Republic. Lincoln was quite in the dark, even as to the opinion of the City of New York until on April 18th, 1871, Fort Sumpter was fired on, when a committee representing the City of New York pledged the City of New York to the loyal support of Lincoln and the saving of the Republic. On the 5th of March last we had a meeting in Carnegie Hall. The building was filled up to the ceiling, and on March 22nd, we had a larger and wider meeting, with wider foundations, in Madison Square Garden. Thirteen thousand people were present and again the City of New York was pledged to the support of the Republic, to the maintenance not only of its rights but of its obligations, and we passed resolutions at both those meetings stating that our rights and our obligations involved taking a direct part with the Allies in their fight for civilization. We are now just on the edge of a decision. I wish I could have come to you a few days later. However, the decision has got to be reached this week in regard to the action required in the United States.

Our President has had upon him a very great burden, responsibility, care, trouble. He is a patriotic man, he has wanted to do what was best for the interests of the Republic, which must be his first consideration, he has wanted, I am sure, to see that the honor of the Republic is upheld. Many of us, hotheaded, hysterical youngsters, we have been called, have thought that the patience was undue, that we were wait-



ing a little longer than was necessary, in order to have it made quite clear that we were not seeking for war with Germany. Some of us held that the action of Bernstorff ten days before the sailing of the *Lusitania* in advising the American citizens not to sail on that liner, practically prohibited the United States from the free use of the North Atlantic—we think this was an act of war on the part of Germany, and that it might very well have been so regarded. The successive murders, the breaches of treaties, the continuing aggression, coming right down to eight or nine weeks back when we were graciously told by His Imperial Majesty in Berlin that we had his permission to go in a vessel decorated like a barber's pole through the blockade (one of the New York cartoonists put in a little picture which represented Uncle Sam talking back to William and saying: "You have *my* gracious permission to go every day in the week to H—"),—all this seemed to us more than sufficient. History may say the President was right. At all events notwithstanding the patience displayed by our President they have been saying in Berlin that the United States has been acting in a brutal and cruel manner. History may say the President was right, but when the decision comes for which we are hoping this week we Americans will say that there can be no question now but that the time has come to act. Those great meetings in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, throughout the whole country, have pledged the loyal support of the United States to prompt—and I emphasize prompt—courageous and consistent action.

I remember some years back sitting in my club in London. I have been going backward and forward for the last fifty years between England and New York, and I have the feeling that a fellow crossing the Atlantic in that way ought not to act like a shuttlecock—go with nothing and return with nothing—but should rather be like a shuttle weaving ever stronger the web of relationship and sympathy between the two countries, by bringing and giving information, and emphasizing the things that the English-speaking people have in common. I have tried to do this, and I have been a good deal of a connecting link between the two countries, as my father was before me. Well, I was sitting in London some years ago before this war. A Colonial Conference was on at

that time, and a friend of mine who had some official position there came to my table and said in the course of conversation: "You know, Putnam, I'm damned glad that you Yankees got away from us in 1783." I said: "Really, that's rather an interesting utterance. Why does it strike you just now?" "I have been at the Colonial Conference. The Colonies were there, the little and the big ones, and if you had not gotten away, you would have been there and you would have been the biggest thing of the lot, and you would have been a damned nuisance."

I have had many minds about that getting away. We have a good many things to do together, and perhaps it is just as well for those things that we have a separate home for a time and let our relationship bring us together again. It is my feeling increasingly with this strong desire for a clear recognition of what the English-speaking races have to do together, that more and more our political boundaries at least as between those nations may become nominal and shadowy things. I do not care what our neighbors in the Dominion may call their Government. I do not so much care whether they retain their loyal allegiance and relationship with the Empire. What I want to see is the practical abolition of every boundary between the English-speaking races, and especially that our political boundary shall be only nominal. I want to see a close interchange of business and commercial relations such as ought to come about with a full reciprocity. I speak as a Free Trader, but at least I am looking forward to that not only for the States and for the Dominion, but for the States and Great Britain, and later for all the States of the world, holding as I do that freedom of trade will be the best assurance for a continued peace between nations. I look forward in any case to what was so nearly accomplished and what I am sure will be accomplished in the future, a reciprocity between the States and the Dominion, that shall increase and strengthen and widen out our commercial relations and shall lessen the possibility of commercial friction, which shall make for a larger friendship between our merchants and your merchants. Thus in bringing the peoples together and the families together we shall increase the inter-marriages which are always a very valuable link between



States. I find that that is so in England. I find that when we send our clever American girls across the Atlantic to Englishmen who want them, those American girls give on the whole a pleasant impression of American standards, and that they tell England something about the States. Then, when they bring their husbands and sometimes their sisters and their brothers over here, the people over here come to have a better knowledge of the best society — and we only try to marry into the best society, not the best as a label but the best the English character produces. They come to understand each other better. As my father felt before me and as Washington Irving, who was one of the most valuable connecting links between the two countries, emphasizes: it is the interchange of thought that brings about the interchange of sympathy, and it is interchange of thought through literature that has made it possible in the States to maintain the practical domination of the English theory of Government and action, against this great foreign infusion which has come to us practically during the last fifty years. The English-speaking group is a minority now, not only in the cities but in the country as a whole. We are thinking English thoughts because we are brought up on English literature, because we accepted in nearly all the States English common law and precedents. That has added to the great English speaking Empire one hundred odd millions of people, with resources to be developed in the future and a power that is going to count: it will be in all probability in the near future from now on a double Empire working with one policy for the civilization of the world. I have therefore some satisfaction in remembering that my father in 1837 in organizing the first League to bring about international copyright, did his part toward abolishing political lines so far as literature was concerned. He was thinking of the authors, of course, and other considerations; but he was also thinking more widely and the future has justified it. It is only through copyright that literature can become a world force, and it is the country giving out those books that has control of the thoughts of the present and future generation, and that is why we have no dread of this foreign element in the United States, we are an English folk and we propose so to remain.

The gentleman in Berlin has indulged himself now and then in statements about the United States, some of which are rather amusing. He said, I believe it was four or five years before the War, "I have ten million loyal Germans in the United States. They cannot carry on a Presidential election without doing what the Germans tell them has to be done. We can depend on their loyalty for furthering the legitimate development of German Kultur throughout the world." I think the Kaiser will be disappointed. I am myself unwilling to believe that the German population of the United States, containing some of the best material that has ever come into our country—men who came to the States because they preferred our methods of Government, the right of the individual to think and live for himself, because they wanted to have a part in Government, because they wanted to get away from the shadow of militarism, because they wanted the education of free men for their boys and of free women for their girls,—that those people will be anything but loyal Americans now the crisis is upon us. These are the men who fought in '48 for liberty within the German Empire. The revolution appeared to have failed. Men were killed, executed, and others came away because they would not stand the Germany in which militarism was to rule. But the fight was not a wasted fight, the ideals were brought to light and Germany is thinking to-day about those ideals upheld by the men of 1848. The example of Russia is going to count. The letters going back to Germany from the United States during the past seventy-five years have had their influence. They know what representative government stands for, and they know what a Government stands for in which the soldier is not the supreme person, where women are not pushed into the gutter or men knocked off a seat because some officer wants it. These may be small things, but they are the outward and visible signs of the domination in Germany of the military idea, and I hold that the example of the United States and the more recent example of Russia, this constant communication of Germans within the land, still under control of the German Government, to Germans without the land who know something better, is working in Germany to-day; and that we shall yet see evolved, from this land from which has come the misery



of this war of aggression, the real Germany which shall count and which we shall be glad to welcome back into the family of nations. I took the liberty of making an impertinent suggestion about twelve months ago, that when the Allies come to bring about a settlement after this war, they will be in every way justified in doing what the Allied States of Europe did in 1815 against the military terror of that day,—that when the Treaty of Peace will be signed, if not in London then at the Hague, they will have every justification for taking the ground taken by England and by Germany and her Allies then, that they would not have any dealings with Napoleon, because his word did not count and he was a perpetual aggressor. Why not take the same ground in connection with William of Berlin? I contend that the Allies will be fully justified in saying to Germany: "We will deal with the separate States of Germany but you have got to get rid of your Hohenzollerns so far as Europe is concerned. If Prussia likes that sort of thing they can have it: but the world will not deal with them." I think England will be fully justified in taking that course, and after all, St. Helena is still empty and still available. The kind of mind that is gripped by this obsession has been the undoing of good old Germany that I knew as a student. I have been going back to Germany occasionally ever since my student days, I read German papers, I read German books, and I know what their policy has been, as announced very frankly ever since the crushing of France in '71. This is the state of mind as expressed by one of their writers in March, 1916:—

"We Germans have been chosen by Providence from among all other peoples to march at the head of the civilized nations and lead these nations under our protection toward an assured peace. It is superfluous to continue to discuss any pacifist plans of whatever nature. The neutral nations have only one means of leading an untroubled existence—to submit to our guidance which is superior from every point of view."

The following is an extract written by a German to an American paper:

"We Germans did not come to the United States to gain any advantage for ourselves. What advantage can the

United States offer to a German? Is not Germany the fountain from which flows all American Kultur? You Yankees would still be leading the narrow provincial lives of your Puritan ancestors had it not been for Germany. Germans come to your country for the same reason that missionaries go to China, to bestow upon you the priceless blessing of civilization."

The thing would be laughable if it were not so serious. Here is a people gone crazy with an obsession, poisoned by this Prussic acid from Berlin. Back of that belief that the Lord has created the German as a Divine person, stood the best fighting machine the world has ever seen. But that machine, thanks to Britain, France and even plucky little Belgium, and the persistence of Russia fighting under all kinds of difficulties, even that of treachery, is no longer the finest fighting machine in the world. Germany's purpose has been very frankly avowed in a statement made as far back as 1852, by a Lieut.-Colonel on the staff of William the Decent, that is William the First. He says:

"Let us not forget the civilizing task which has been assigned to us by the decrees of Providence. Just as Prussia has been chosen to be the nucleus of Germany so Germany has been chosen to be the future civilizing power of the West. Can anyone doubt this?"

He goes on to say that not only the North Sea but the Mediterranean and the North Atlantic must come under their control, that Prussia must successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, then Northern France, and he wound up by saying "We need Calais in our future relations with Great Britain."

I heard a beautiful lecture in 1900 in Germany where the lecturer was pointing out the destiny of his country. He pointed out that in the eighteenth century the direction of the affairs of the world was largely in the hands of France. In the nineteenth century, due to a strong fleet, Great Britain practically had control. The twentieth century, he said, belonged to Germany. The British Empire is corrupt, it is weak, the people will not make the necessary sacrifices to defend themselves; they have no business to undertake to maintain an Empire without any organization, and we the



Germans are to be the natural inheritors. As we came out of the lecture room I mentioned to my acquaintance with whom I went to the lecture: "The theorizing of your lecturer seemed rather similar to that of young Sheridan." He said "Who is young Sheridan?" I said, "Sheridan, the dramatist. His father was having a talk with him one day and he said to him, 'Look here, son, you are growing to be a pretty big boy. It is time you took to yourself a wife.' Young Sheridan said, 'Certainly, sir, whose wife shall I take?'"

I understand you have all got to go back to your offices to make some more millions to pay your war tax. I hope very soon we shall vote to put one thousand million of dollars into the treasury of the Allies. We owe this very directly to France, but it does not make much difference where it goes as long as it goes into the fight. The call upon the United States is a very clear call. Great Britain calls, and Great Britain with all its blunders and misdeeds, and she has had her share, is the most beneficent Empire the world has ever known, beneficent because she has done more for the good of the people than any Empire in history. Look at India, loyal to the Union Jack, with all her regiments sent out to fight. India loyal and why not? The British Empire has given to India justice, it has taken care of its women and children, it has cared for the people in time of famine, and it is setting India on the road to a higher civilization than it has ever conceived of. Why should not India be loyal to the Union Jack? Then there is Egypt. For the first time in the history of Egypt the poor man has the right to enjoy the fruit of the crop that he has himself cared for. For the first time in the history of Egypt the poor man can depend upon justice. If you talk to the Egyptian about going back to Turkish rule he would laugh at you. He knows better, he has what he wants. Then there is South Africa. Not a Dependency but an Independent State, ruling its own affairs. South Africa fighting for the privilege of remaining in the British Empire and winning out. Britain calls and her call should be hearkened to.

France calls too, France the Republic, taking so much of its inspiration from our own Republic, precedent and history. France without whose help against the autocracy of a German

King in England our Republic would never have been established. Sir George Trevelyan says that in 1876 the fight was for Liberalism in Great Britain as well as Liberalism in the United States. France in helping that fight helped forward Liberalism in Great Britain. She has always been hospitable not only to America, but to all the world, to the world's students of Art, of Literature, of Science. She has stood at the forefront of civilization, of thought and of high intellectual attainments. France is fighting to-day with its factions all fused into one common nation, fighting with its back up in those trenches made glorious, not only to save France but to save the world. France calls, and France has a right to be heard.

Then little Belgium, the heroic State of Europe, Belgium with its little army of two hundred thousand men, knowing that they were to be sacrificed, the men knowing that they were doomed, fighting for time, for the few weeks that saved Calais, that saved Paris, that may have saved Europe—Belgium has a right to the sympathy and co-operation and aid of every man in this world that believes in heroism and Republican Government. The figures of King Albert and his loyal wife, living in a little strip of yellow sand, all that is left of their heritage, and looking out across the trenches with the hope that they are to go back—and please God they shall go back—Albert and his wife stand to me as the heroes of the twentieth century. They at least are free, they are on their own little patch of land; but think of Cardinal Mercier. He has the right to call to every decent Christian man, every man who believes in civilization to go to the help of Belgium. The call is there, gentlemen, and I believe that my fellow citizens will listen to that call, will give their aid, their strength, their loyal support, to the fight for civilization, to the end that government of the people by the people and for the people shall not perish from the face of the earth.



*(April 16th, 1917)*

## FINANCING AND ORGANIZATION OF THE BELGIAN RELIEF

---

By EDGAR RICKARD

---

IT is good to be here to-day and to express to you a message from those Americans who have been laboring under an official cloak of neutrality for two and a half years, a message of co-operation with you in your struggle on the other side. We have expressed ourselves to some extent through the thirty-five thousand Americans who are fighting with the British and French Armies on the Western Front, and the several hundred of our very best young men who are with the different Ambulance Units in France; through the work of Herbert Hoover and the Commission providing sustenance for ten million people in Northern France and in Belgium. It is of this last I have come to speak, an organization which in its character and its magnitude has no precedent. Belgium in ordinary times has a population approximately that of Canada. Conceive of this whole Dominion being crowded into half of Nova Scotia, about eleven thousand square miles, which means six hundred and fifty people to the square mile, where Canada has one square mile for every two people. In Belgium the wheels of industry suddenly stopped; imagine, telegraphs, posts, railways, everything coming to a standstill.

In September, 1914, an American mining engineer came to London from Brussels with forty thousand pounds. His splendid idea was to purchase forty thousand pounds worth of food and to take it into Brussels to relieve the distress. That was what the Belgians considered would help them at that time. He endeavored to secure the permits to ship, but all of the Government officials in London were very much occu-

pied with other things and could not give him the attention he deserved. Later on our Ambassador in London, Mr. Page, and Mr. Whitlock in Brussels, secured the proper credentials in Washington so that Americans could co-operate in Belgium relief; and Mr. Hoover, who had a good record in handling work of this kind, was asked to take charge. He asked five other Americans there who had been in similar work with him before to join him, and it was my privilege to be one of the five, and to have been associated with this work from its inception. Mr. Hoover is a man of action. His method is to do things and then ask whether they are right afterwards. We were faced at that time with the difficulty of purchasing supplies. He secured the permits and began putting the food on the ships; but nobody seemed able to tell us how we should go about it. At our first and only meeting on the 22nd October, 1914, our plans were laid, and nine days later our first supplies went over the Belgian frontier. Later we had a programme for the purchase of twenty thousand tons of food a week, costing two million dollars per week, and we had no other capital than the goodwill of the whole world. We purchased the first week's supply, loaded them on the ship and then Mr. Hoover called up the official in charge and said: "I want a permit to send out four steamers to-morrow to Belgium." The official on the other end of the line came back with: "My dear young man, it is impossible. First of all you have to secure permits to purchase this food. Second, you have to secure permits to load it, and then you can come to me." Mr. Hoover said: "I have done all those things. The hatches are closed and I have come to you as the only official I know who has the proper authority." The official said: "Young man, men have been put in the Tower for doing less than you have done, but the cause is so great and you have done it so thoroughly well that I will see you get the passes."

The men with Hoover are all engineers; they are nearly all mining engineers. We had never embarked on such an enterprise before, but all of us had some experience in organization and the handling of men, and it helps a great deal in this work. We had no money; in fact, the Commission for Relief in Belgium for six months was always ten million dollars overpurchased, and it has been that sort of a job all the way



through. Think of these men making treaties with governments! These treaties are very formal ones; they meant the security of our ships from attack by Germany; they meant securing from Germany an agreement that the food we took in would not be requisitioned. Later on we secured a treaty with Germany whereby the native food of the country should not be requisitioned and taken. That meant that we took over all the produce of Belgium, and then we had to make a treaty whereby our men would be given freedom of movement throughout all of Belgium. I must say that all of these treaties have been carefully carried out by all the belligerents.

For many reasons which you can easily realise Germany did not desire to have forty or fifty Americans with the privilege of travelling behind the lines, after our country declared war on Germany; and we had to make provision for the substitution of some other neutral. We had been considering this matter for a long time. We Americans abroad have always wanted our country to come in; we expected her to come in long before she did. We were making provision for the time when our country would call our men out. We have now arranged with the Netherlands Government to select their own people, men who have been carefully examined by the British Government and our own Inspectors, to see whether they are the kind of men needed to take up the work. For you must bear in mind that this organization of ours is not limited to some forty or fifty Americans in Belgium. Over fifty thousand volunteer workers, forty thousand Belgians and fifteen thousand Frenchmen are giving up all their time to it. Their work has become more perfect every day. It would not be necessary for any neutral to be in Belgium were it not for the fact that Germany prohibits the free movement of the Belgians and the French throughout their own country. The Belgians are a self-reliant people. They are capable of taking care of all of their relief, if they were allowed free access to and communication with the outside world and free movement within their own country.

Our work, speaking directly, is that of importing into Belgium and Northern France food for ten million people. We sell the food to everyone; the well-to-do pay for their food with their own resources, and the destitute are provided with

the funds, or with cards by which they can purchase the food themselves. This is one outstanding feature. The profit in the first two years was no less than twenty-two million dollars. This twenty-two million dollars was a self imposed contribution of the Belgians on themselves in support of their own destitute. In addition to this the Belgians have taken care of their own dependents. Those who had large manufacturing plants have provided food for their employees and families and have taken care of their servants. We have tried to make a rough estimate of what this relief meant, and Mr. Hoover has stated that he believes the Belgian people have given an additional fifty million dollars in this way to their own people.

Then again in England there are two hundred and twenty thousand refugees from Belgium. Of these refugees there are only fifteen thousand that are not employed, and they are mostly women and children. We have in England what we call an exchange department in connection with our Commission, by which we are able to transmit funds from the outside to the inside of Belgium; and these two hundred and twenty thousand refugees have handed us out of their own savings every month, a quarter of a million dollars, fifty thousand pounds sterling, to be transmitted to their own friends and relatives inside of Belgium. I am particularly anxious to dwell upon this point in order that you may be assured that the Belgian people are not lying down and being fed with a spoon.

We have transported some two million five hundred thousand tons across the water in eight hundred voyages. We have lost eighteen ships. All of the cargoes of these ships were fully insured, the insurance covering every penny that we have lost. Of the eighteen ships that we have lost, six have been torpedoed. Of these six we have definitely ascertained that the loss of three was due to the recklessness of the commander. I want you to understand that the German Government, judging the morals of their antagonists to be the same as their own, have been in constant fear lest Great Britain and France should use the flag of the Commission of Relief for Belgium to disguise some of their own shipping operations in the North Sea. So they have designated a particular lane through which our ships shall pass, and our treaty with them



is that as long as our ships keep in this lane and carry our markings, which are very distinct, they will not be torpedoed or interfered with by the Germans. The commanders of some of these ships will at times vary their course and perhaps venture out of the restricted zone. Three of our ships did do this and they were torpedoed. Of the other three the cause is less distinct, but it was probably one of those occasions when the German Admiralty was out of tune with its own Government. But we propose to continue our work. We have had some pretty hard knocks before, and so long as the bulk of our ships are arriving safely in Rotterdam—we have just had reported the arrival of two ships there—we see no reason why we should cease our activities.

We have received up to date from various sources two hundred and seventy million dollars for Belgium and Northern France. Of this total amount we have received from Great Britain and France through loans to Belgium one hundred and forty-eight millions. We have received from France in addition to what she has given to Belgium ninety million dollars, which she asked us to expend for her own people in Northern France. We have received from the British Empire through personal gifts of her people sixteen million dollars, two millions of which has come from your good country here. We have received from America only eleven million dollars, and we are not very happy when we think of these figures; though I can tell you that since we have been over here we have done very much better. We are averaging well over half a million a month in America to-day, and we shall soon make our record equal to that of the United Kingdom.

As we travel about in different parts of the United States people have been very free with their suggestions as to how we could best secure funds for the Belgian Relief. One suggestion constantly made to me is: "Why don't you bring with you some starving children or emaciated women in order to show them off?" There are no starving people in Belgium to-day. I do not want you to take this amiss or to misunderstand it; but we should feel that our work had been very badly done, and we would not ask for your support if we were allowing those good people to starve.

We have been asked again and again, if we had not

relieved Belgium, would not Germany in the last resort have been compelled to feed these people? This is a serious question. Germany reads the Hague Convention to mean that Belgium should support her troops, and holds that the fact that they are unable to support themselves is due to the blockade carried on by the Allies. But in October, 1914, in many districts of Belgium we had a test of what would have happened. The troops came down upon the little town of Charleroi and requisitioned all of the bread. One of our men went to the Commander and said: "Do you know that you are making it possible for ten million people to starve?" He replied: "That does not make any difference to us. It is military reasons that are involved and we must carry them out." What I say is, that you cannot gamble on the lives of ten million defenceless people, when your only trump card is the belief that Germany will not stoop to the lowest stage of inhumanity.

I am not making an appeal to you. It does not become any American or any one in this world to appeal to Great Britain, Canada or Australia, for further assistance in Belgium, when we know how much they have done for the suffering nations of the world, and how generous they have been in lending their alms and in giving gifts of money. But I want to tell you the story of Belgium, how brave those people are themselves, how much they have done from the very first day. They have always wanted to look after themselves. We are only taking up this position because of their defenceless state, in not being able to communicate with the outside world. If to-day I have been able to give you a different impression of Belgium, and if I have been able to give you more of an idea of this work, it will be half an hour well spent. To-morrow afternoon Mrs. Kellogg is going to tell something of the work of the Belgian women themselves. She is the only woman member of the Commission, and it has been her privilege to have been in Belgium for six months and to have seen the operations we have carried on there. For the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium does not consist only in landing there so many thousand tons of food; we have tried to keep all the industries going, to keep forty-five thousand lace makers busy, and in doing that we have had the advice



of the best artists in France. You know that the Belgian queen took a particular interest in the lace-making there; when she returns she will find the lacemakers three years in advance of what they were before the war commenced. Belgium is turning out better lace to-day than it ever did before. This is the kind of work we want people to know about, more than the mere fact of putting food into the mouths of the starving Belgians.





*(April 23rd, 1917).*

## THE EUROPEAN WAR AND AMERICAN PARTICIPATION

---

By J. B. W. GARDINER

---

I AM deeply sensible of the honor of being privileged to speak here to-day, and yet I have come with a feeling of great hesitancy. The world knows the cross Canada has had to bear for the last two and a half years, knows the sacrifices you have made, the sufferings you have endured. When I read of your crucifixion, of the deeds of your soldiers, I feel that to come and say anything about what the United States proposes to do is almost presumption.

Three weeks ago the United States declared war with Germany, by that act Canada and the United States became more than friends, closer than brothers. They became partners in the greatest business in which great people can be engaged, the defence and the maintenance of the principle of democratic rule. It is no time for diplomacy. The time for diplomacy is past. We have lifted the yoke of neutrality which has been galling the necks of a great many of us, and we are now free to speak our minds without restriction. That is what I want to do to-day in order that you may understand us and believe in us and in our motives. Many of you perhaps have wondered why we have taken so long to take up arms against the autocratic forces of Europe. It has been charged that we were actuated only by the material considerations involved, that we have been content to sit at home with folded hands in peace and security while others were fighting the battle of democracy with their men. This is not true. We are not materialists, the dollar is not our God. We have been prosperous, very prosperous, and it is possible that our

very prosperity has given us a veneer of materialism by which many have been prone to judge us; but if that is so it is only a veneer, and now that the shell is broken you will find beneath it the same idealism, the same faith, the same belief in the justice and righteousness of the Allies' cause that has given you such a heroic stature.

No; materialism has not been the cause of our inaction; but we, more than any other people in the world, have a cosmopolitan population, in which there are representatives of every race in Europe. Great elements of this population have been bitterly opposed to America's going into the war because of their own affiliation with this or that one of the belligerents. We have found present also that curse of modern times, the "peace at any price" advocate, preaching the doctrine of no defence even against invasion. This section of the people in the United States has joined hands with the pro-German element and has made its appeal to everything that is base in human kind. It is not a matter of pride that we have to acknowledge the strength and the force of that appeal; but the loyal American to-day understands the situation, and sees how step by step we were becoming compromised with Germany. For twenty-five years the doctrine of pacifism has been preached, with peace and business as its text, indiscriminately without let or hindrance. It has established a cult, justifying itself in what it calls humanity—a spurious humanity—and it has set this above patriotic inclination and national duty. It has not stopped with materialism as its plea, but it has kept dangling before our eye constantly our traditional policy of freedom from European alliances—America for Americans and Europe for Europeans; and the result has been that its appeal was made and heard and listened to by the mercenary, the mean of spirit, the barren of soul, the hypocrite who joyously sang: "I did not raise my boy to be a soldier." I want you to see this picture because I want you to know what we did when we broke with Germany and declared war.

When I realize what the situation was and the pressure that was being exerted against it I do not wonder that we took so long to do it. The marvel is that these vampires who were sucking the very lifeblood of our manhood left us



sufficient courage to take our stand side by side with those who are fighting that democracy may live. Realizing this, I am proud of my country, I am proud that we put aside these false gods, and I am proud that my country has come to assist in the greatest vindication of the dreams and glories of democratic rule that the world has ever witnessed.

We are not quite clear as to the cause of the war, but that is immaterial now. Whether it finds its origin in commercialism, in pan-Germanism, in someone's dream of world empire, yet for us the situation is clear-cut—freedom or slavery for the individual. Do not be mistaken as to our reasons for declaring war. It is true our ships were sunk in violation of the law of nations and our citizens murdered on the high seas, and our government conspired against with all the malevolence that Germany is capable of. This is the excuse but not the cause. The cause is our realisation that it is the form of government represented by Great Britain, by France, and now by Russia, which was thrown into the balance and was in danger, rather than those governments themselves. The principle of the Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights forms the foundations of British liberty and our own as well. While England has its King and we have a President, we have each received as a precious heritage from our ancestors, a government devoted to the principle of individual equality, of equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We realized that if we would perpetuate this heritage, preserve inviolate those principles for which our ancestors contended,—if we would not abandon those democratic ideals which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon—we had to fight. We have fought for these things before, and we are ready to fight again for the faith that is in us. We are not too proud to fight, nor as some have said are we too fat to fight, nor do we propose to fight this war with our cheque books. We will use them and use them liberally because that is one of the things we can do and do now; but we have in the United States fifteen million men of military age, backed up by the greatest industrial system of the world, and with seventy-five billions of dollars. If it becomes necessary in order to defeat this monster in Europe we will send those fifteen millions of men to France and put those seventy-five

billion dollars into the allied treasury in order that it be done. We will do this because we realize that if Germany wins this war there will be no place on earth where free men may lay their heads. You all know that since the very beginning of this war our hearts have gone out in sympathy with the Allies' cause, but now we will stretch our hands across the sea, filled with everything we can in the way of military resources.

There is still room for misunderstanding, a misunderstanding based on failure to grasp the role which circumstances have forced the United States to play. I would invite your attention to the statement made by our President in his War Message to Congress—"Full co-operation with the Allies." A great many of our papers were agitating for an independent war. How such a thing could be conceived of no one who ever thought about it could possibly imagine. These papers are, needless to say, pro-German. The statement of the President completely does away with that idea. There will be no independent war. The situation in Europe is such and has been such for a long time that no independent action is possible. It is not fair to criticise this nation or that for what they did or did not do. Let me remind you of the criticisms that have been levelled against England, unfairly, but levelled by the ignorant. In the battle of the Somme it was freely said that she was not doing her part, that France was doing her fighting for her; but the military affairs of the allies are controlled by a general allied staff, which dictates every important move and makes every important plan, and we must fall in with that general staff just as the other allies have done.

It may seem presumptuous for me to attempt to interpret the statement of our President, "full co-operation." The great majority of us at home believe that that means but one thing, that we will appoint on the Allied General Staff a representative of the United States who will lay before that staff just what we are prepared to do, our resources in finance, in men, in industry, and then we will take our orders. There are very sound reasons behind that. We are in a way ignorant of actual conditions of the military situation. We get certain information, but none of it is sufficiently accurate or broad to enable us independently to formulate a definite policy. We



therefore have to profit by the experience of others. There are those abroad who have been in charge of military affairs, who have had a most bitter experience, and we ought to profit by it. It would be a cruel waste if the United States refused to profit by that experience. As we sit here to-day there is a Conference going on in Washington on this very point between the United States and the representatives of Great Britain headed by Mr. Balfour. It will largely depend on the result of that conference what the United States does. Therefore, if in the months that are to come some of you do not feel that the United States is doing her duty by her other Allies, I want you to remember that the United States has very little to say about it. Stock has been taken of everything she possesses, and it will be put at the disposal of the Allied General Staff on which we are represented; and what we do or do not do is up to the general staff and not up to us.

The position of the United States is peculiar also in another respect. Never has a great nation declared war and found itself in such a complete state of unpreparedness. This may seem strange to you who have been surrounded by the war atmosphere for nearly three years. In fact, it would savour of national insanity; and yet you must realise that we are living in a republic, and living in a republic is very much like floating down a turbulent stream on a raft. You are always in trouble, you always get your feet wet, but you never go down. During the next few months the United States will have to walk with measured tread and make haste slowly. You must realize that if we are not extremely careful what we do it will help Germany more than it will help the Allies. If we undertake to create immediately a vast army, to munition it, equip it, arm it with rifles, we must deflect from Europe many supplies of which they stand in urgent need. We should have to use the output of our factories for our own use, while Great Britain and France would be begging for this output on the other side. Another thing that would play into German hands would be an attempt to send a large military force to Europe. We should have to use an immense amount of tonnage, which is the world's great shortage to-day. To send a division of troops across the water—a division containing approximately twenty thousand men—would with

their equipment consume a hundred thousand tons of shipping and keep this tonnage busy with supplies. If we consider an army of half a million, not a great army as armies are measured now, it means two and a half million tons, and where is it to come from? We have taken over the German ships. Some of them have not been so seriously damaged, others it will take months to repair, but that does not give us enough. The world's crying need to-day is ships and still more ships. We have stopped work on our battleships in every place where they were being built, and we are using the force and the material for merchant vessels. We have plans under way actually formulated, construction about to begin, on one thousand ships of standard tonnage, to cost three hundred and fifty thousand dollars apiece, but that tonnage will not begin to be delivered until about next October. If, however, with the world's tonnage in the condition in which it at present finds itself, we attempt to send a large force over and keep it equipped, we shall probably succeed in starving England and make it impossible for France to keep up the fight. These are things we must think about in judging as to whether America is trying to fight with her pocketbook or with her men. The duty, the honor, the sentiment of the United States demands that our troops take their places in the trenches beside the cross of King George and the tricolor of France. But in order to fulfil this it is not necessary at the present time that these troops be in large numbers.

Another question is that of food. The United States will produce this coming year at least twenty-five per cent. more food supplies than ever before in her history. Let me tell you what our railways are doing. The New York Central, for example, is posting signs up all along their line, and is sending out all sorts of advertising matter to our farmers: "Do you need men, money or seed? If so, come to us." Every railroad in the United States, while not in the same words, is following the same tactics. The question of tonnage also has to do with food; America will play her part pretty well during the next six months if she can keep Europe adequately supplied with steel and with food. The question of steel is a very vital one. If we read of a day's battle of the drum fire of heavy artillery and the fire of the lighter guns, and realise the enor-



mous quantity of steel that is being consumed, we know what an important part metals are playing. Before the war the territory that was held by Germany produced five tons of steel to every three tons produced by the territory held by the Allies. That difference has to be made up by the United States, and while no figures are available it is not too much to say that of every seven tons of steel being used by the Allies in Europe at least four tons come from the United States. This is just one element imposed on the world's tonnage. I have talked a lot about that, but it is to me the crucial point—the tonnage. The submarine proposition is an absolute menace. The British Admiralty has kept very secret just what is being done to combat it, but nevertheless it is a menace. I know positively, to show how effective it has been, that two weeks ago there had not been a potato in the Savoy Hotel for ten days. I do not mean that England is starving, that is not so; but when a hotel like the Savoy has no potatoes in stock we know that the submarine activity is something to worry about.

Part of our work of course must fall on our Navy; but we know what the British Navy has done and is still doing, and the most our Navy can do is to supplement the work now being done by Great Britain. In the matter of men, we have under arms and equipped, approximately half a million. Unless I am very much mistaken, within the next week, about a week from to-day, the Congress of the United States will pass a Bill for Conscription. I want to say a word about our President, and I want you to feel when I say it that I am saying it with the deepest and highest respect and admiration for the stand he has taken. He is the most stubborn man in the United States to-day. He is slow to make up his mind and he may seem to waver, as he measures in the balance this against that; but when he acts there are not enough mules in the United States to pull him away from his decision, and he has come out flatfooted for universal service and conscription.

There is just one other point that may cause a great deal of wonder at this time, and that is the position of the United States with regard to the "No Separate Peace Agreement" entered into by the European Allies. The United

States will not become a party to that form of agreement. You know we have been more or less hypnotized by our supposed position of detached insularity, we have had impressed upon us from the days of our beginning as a Republic the inadvisability of entering into European entanglements. Just let us look at the situation. France wants Alsace and Lorraine; Russia wants Constantinople; Roumania wants Transylvania, and so on and so on, and I do not think we could make a treaty engaging ourselves not to make peace until all these aims were realised. I will explain why. Let me quote the words of our President in his War message to Congress: "We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire neither conquest nor dominion, we desire no indemnity and no compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make." If we cannot ask dominion or conquest for ourselves we cannot ask it for others; not that we believe it is wrong, or that these claims are not just, but most of us do believe that the only basis of peace is the correlation of ethnic with national boundaries. But the President has said we are in this war to a finish; either Germany must be defeated, or we must acknowledge temporarily our defeat, and prepare for a more titanic effort and a more cruel test. We are of and among the gentlemen of nations, and surely between gentlemen no written word is necessary. If Russia's domestic difficulties should weaken her fealty to the Entente, and we could conceive of such a thing as England attempting to force on us a peace that was contrary to the wishes of France and of Belgium, the Army of the United States would not quit the field as long as it was occupied by the soldiers of the French democracy. The issue is clear cut—freedom or slavery. Until Germany is defeated or until the democracy of Germany drives from power the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs and their feudal supporters, for the United States as well as for the Allies in Europe there can be no separate peace.

Before I close, I would ask the privilege in my small way of paying tribute to the men of Canada who have gone to the Front. Clear in our minds will always be the Battle of Ypres, where for the first time facing the weapon that was forged in hell, the Princess Pats stood fast in the trenches though suffering agony which must have made death seem sweeter than



life, and rolled back the enemy tide from Calais. And not less that ridge at Vimy which formed the northern pedestal of the Hindenburg Line, and which had been prepared for defence by the exhaustion of every bit of knowledge, engineering and military, that had been acquired through the centuries. Who can read of the charge up that slope and over the Ridge through a shower of steel and a hail of bullets that burned where they touched, across the trenches and down into the valley,—who is there that can read of that and not have his heart stirred and his blood quickened, as it has not been since we first read of the Charge of the Light Brigade? I could ask no greater honor for the Army of the United States than that when it goes to France it may take its place side by side in the trenches with the men of Canada; and that together they may drive the Germans as the Canadians have always driven them, out of the trenches and into the open, across France and Belgium and the Lowlands, across the Rhine, and exterminate with the sword of oblivion the Hohenzollern, the Swashbuckler, and the Junker, who dared to challenge before the world the right of a people to be free.

















F  
5497  
M6C3  
1916/17

Canadian Club of Montreal  
Addresses

**PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET**

---

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY**

---

JOHN LOVELL & SON, LIMITED  
PRINTERS 15 MONTREAL